AN AGRIPPAN SOURCE

A STUDY IN INDO-PARTHIAN HISTORY

B. N. MUKHERJEE

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B. N. MUKHERJEE
M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. (Lond.)

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TO
DR. RADHA GOVINDA BASAK
THE GREAT SAVANT
AS A TOKEN OF RESPECT
FOR HIS
VERSATILE SCHOLARSHIP

FOREWORD

The political history of North-Western India during the period between the fall of the Maurya and the rise of the Gupta empire has proved to be an intriguing problem since the beginning of modern Indological studies in the 18th century. A large number of rulers belonging to many foreign dynasties are known from the coins issued by them as sovereign authority—some of them assuming pompous titles such as King of Kings, Great, Saviour, etc.—but practically nothing is definitely known about most of them from any historical works known so far. Scholars have therefore engaged themselves, for more than a century, in a critical study of the types of coins and their provenance and the few inscriptions available so far in order to make an intelligible guess—for it is not possible to do anything more—about the nationality of the rulers so known as well as the locality over which they ruled, and to arrange them chronologically, and according to dynasties, as far as possible.

In this almost superhuman task the scholars anxiously look for assistance from any other source and naturally regard with great interest any reference, however slight, in a literary text of a known date, which is likely to throw any light, directly or indirectly, on the subject of their study.

The following pages are the results of such painstaking efforts on the part of a young scholar to unravel the mysteries of one of the ruling groups belonging to a single ethnic group, namely Parthian. He has demostrated that Parthians of the Indian borderland to the west of the Sindhu river (Indus), may be divided into two groups—the Imperial Parthian rulers descended from Arsaces and hence known as the Arsacids, and one or more motley groups who were probably once subordinate to them but later on became independent sovereign rulers as proved by the coins they issued.

He has tried to bring about some sort of order in the mass of scattered information supplied by coins and to build up a constructive picture of the Parthian rulers as well as contemporary rulers of other stock in the neighbourhood with the help of a few literary texts, both classical and Chinese.

As the title of the book shows, he has laid great emphasis on the observations and statements of a high Roman Official, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (c.64/63-c.12 B. C.), quoted or alluded to by certain classical writers. But other literary sources have also been laid under contribution and the net result of all the studies has been briefly summarised in Chapter VI.

Even the few available historical data, apart from the coins, are so vague that no sure conclusion is possible except in very general terms. It is admitted by the author himself that only hypothetical suggestions are possible, and even these are, not unoften, based on interpretations of, and deductions from, literary texts which do not command immediate assent, and are bound to be matters of dispute. But subject to this obvious limitation the book deserves high commendation. The author's efforts to bring together all the scattered data known so far, relating to the knotty problem under discussion, and his conclusions based upon them, though necessarily neither comprehensive in nature, nor immediately acceptable, must be regarded as very fruitful contributions to the further study of this very fascinating but intriguing problem of ancient Indian history.

The laborious and critical study involved in preparing this work may be judged from the exhaustive and detailed references in the footnotes and the discussions of some allied topics in the five Appendices. I regard the book as a scholarly contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian history and commend it to all serious students of the subject.

Calcutta R. C. MAJUMDAR
1969

PREFACE

This book embodies the result of my research in the problems connected with the activities of the Arsacids or the Imperial Parthians in the Indian borderlands, including the major parts of the territory now known as West Pakistan and also the regions of Eastern and Southern Afghanistan. The relations of the Scytho-Parthian chiefs of these areas with the Imperial Parthians also form a part of the subject of our enquiry. And as one of the most important and, little noticed sources of the history of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands is furniseed by an evidence of M. V. Agrippa, a high official of the Roman Empire the present treatise is named as *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*.

The text of each chapter of the present volume is followed by notes, which incorporate detailed notices of original sources and secondary works. Nevertheless, since the present book is the first comprehensive work on the problems connected with the history of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands, it has been thought wise to indicate all the major sources of our information in one particular section. This has been done in the Select Bibliography of Original Sources.

In spelling of proper names, we have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. For example, the name of the son of the Kushāṇa king Kujula is written as V'ima Kadphises and not as V'ima Kadaphisa. *San*, appearing on Kushāṇa coins, has been transcribed as *sh*. The sound signified by *san* is known to have been expressed by the letter *sh* in Indian sources. No diacritical mark has been used, with a few exceptions, in modern proper names, including geographical. The term *India* denotes, unless otherwise indicated, the Indian subcontinent comprising the territories of Indian Republic and Pakistan.

In course of my research I have used different libraries and museums. Here special mention may be made of the National Library, Calcutta, and the libraries of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the British Museum, London, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, the Royal Asiatic Society, London, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London, the Society of Antiquary, London, and the Royal Numismatic Society, London. We have examined, *inter alia,* collections of the British Museum, London, Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the private museum of the Late Narendra Singh Singhi, Calcutta. I am extremely grateful to the authorities of the above libraries and museums for granting me facilities conducive to carry on research. I may here specially refer to Messrs. G. K. Jenkins, R. Carson, P. Finn and K. A. Howes of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, who had been of great help to me in examining coins Coins of the Indian Museum were studied by me through the courtesy of Mrs. D. Mukherjee. Miss.

Nelson of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. S. N. Dey of the Sanskrit College Library, and Messrs. S. Chaudhuri, D. P. Gupta, R. Chatterjee and D. Dutta of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, ungrudgingly supplied all the books I required. I am much indebted to the Late Narendra Sing Singhi, who so graciously allowed me to study his marvellous coin-collection.

In course of my research I have received valuable advices and suggestions from eminent Indologists like Dr. R. G. Basak, Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Prof. A. L. Basham and Dr. D. W. MacDowall and also from Prof. H. W. Bailey, a great authority on Iranian studies, and Prof. E. J. Pulleyblank, the distinguished Sinologist. I availed myself of the opportunities of getting authentic translations of various sources, scattered in a number of languages. Translations of relevant passages from Chinese have been done by Mr. I. Legaza, from Greek and Latin by Dr. W. Metzler, from Tibetan by Mr. B. Mukherjee, and from Arabic and Persian by Mr. A. Khallaque. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Dr. K. K. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University, Mr. K. W. Dobbins, now a research fellow in the Australian National University, Canberra, and Mr. B. K. Ray Chaudhuri of the Surendra Nath College, Calcutta, discussed with me various problems related to the subject concerned. I am grateful to all these scholars, but for whose help and guidance it would have been impossible for me te collect data from widely diffused sources and to make an attempt to write the history of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the great authority on Indian history. He graciously agreed to write a foreward.

The manuscript has been carefully typed out and made ready for the press by Mr. S. Mukherjee. The index has been ably prepared by Dr. B. D. Chatterjee. D. Roy has designed the jacket and has drawn the map. He has also arranged the plates, photographs for which had been kindly supplied by Mr. A. Sinha. I am indebted to these friends of mine and also to the authorities of different collections, objects from which are illustrated in Plates II and III.

Mr. C. Sen of the P. B. Press, Calcutta, has seen the book through the press. Proofs have been corrected by Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Dr. K. K. Das Gupta and Mr. D. N. Das. Mr. N. Dey has rendered assistence in various other ways. I am grateful to each of them for taking personal care in course of preparation and printing.

In spite of our best efforts, several printing mistakes have crept in (see the Corrigenda). For these I crave indulgence of readers.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Calcutta
October, 1969

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An Agrippan Source
A Study in Indo-Parthian History

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A

Sources make or mar the history of a person, a dynasty or a region. Favourable data in available records can make a hero out of an ordinary being, while dearth of relevant documents or adverse reports in known ones may reduce a giant to a mere shadowy figure. Yet there are certain historical themes the apparent importance of which cannot be overlooked or minimised in spite of paucity of information. One such theme is concerned with the activities of the Arsacids or the Imperial Parthians in the western borderlands of the Indian subcontinent (India and Pakistan).

For the greater part of their rule (from c. 250B.C. to A.D.227 or 228/229)[1] the Arsacids were the masters of the destiny of the human race over a vast area in the East.[2] Hence the possibility of their presence in any territory merits close attention of scholars. This is particularly true of the Indian borderlands, the well-known playground of the Bactrian Greeks,[3] described in various sources as the enemies of the Arsacids,[4] and of several Indo-Parthian chiefs,[5] hailing apparently from different parts of the Arsacid empire.[6]

B

The western borderlands of the Indian subcontinent may include parts of the extra-Indian territories along the alignment of the western and north-western boundaries of West Pakistan. In the west this trans-Indian zone can be conveniently demarcated by a line, the first section of which may be drawn from the coast, and along 60° longitude, up to 30° latitude. Thence proceeding up to 65° longitude in the east, it extends in the north up to about 33° latitude. From here the line runs to about 68° longitude in the east, whence it turns to the north to reach the Oxus river. Within the territory so defined are parts of the south-eastern extremities of Persia and Southern and Eastern Afghanistan.

The easternmost section of the borderlands within the western limits of the Indian subcontinent may be extended up to the Indus river. This part of the Indian subcontinent then includes the whole of Pakistan to the west of that river.[7]

This modern conception of India's western border areas may, to some extent, correspond to the ideas about the western limits of India as indicated by some classical sources. A few classical writers, including Diodorus Siculus[8] and Strabo,[9] described the Indus as forming the western boundary of India. Ptolemy stated that India Intra Gangem was "bounded on the west by (*the land of*) the Paropanisadai and Arachosia and Gedrosia along their eastern frontiers"[10] (*Italics ours*). Of these areas the territory of the Paropanisadai included Kaboura[11] or the modern Kabul region.[12] Arachosia had within its limits one

Alexandria,[13] identified with the present Kandahar.[14] Gedrosia was situated below Arachosia and Drangiana and above the Indian Ocean. And since it also incorporated localities not far from the Indus,[15] it should have embraced, *inter alia*, a substantial portion of Baluchistan.[16] Thus Ptolemy appears to have placed the major portion of the present territory of West Pakistan (excluding Baluchistan) within the bounds of his India (Intra Gangem). Similarly, Pliny observed that "most authorities do not put the western frontier (*of India*) at the river Indus,[17] but include (*within it*) the four satrapies (*of*) Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii (*and*) Paropanisadae"[18] (*Italics ours*).

These classical authors flourished in the period from the 1st. century B.C. to the 2nd. century A.D.[19] It appears from their comments that in that age India was sometimes confined to the east of the Indus and sometimes extended beyond that river in the west. These notions about the western limits of India naturally gained ground sometime after Herodotus, whose 'India' lay (mostly ?) on the Indus.[20]

The probable dates of the authorities in question suggest that they lived in the time (though not in the dominions) of the Arsacids.[21] Hence their conceptions about India's western limits may, at least to some extent, reflect the contemporary conditions in different periods of the Imperial Parthian rule.[22]

Such a hypothesis indicates that in the era of the Imperial Parthians the western borderlands of India could have at times incorporated the major parts of modern West Pakistan and Eastern and Southern Afghanistan.

C

The greatest impediment to the investigation into the activities of the Arsacids or the Imperial Parthians in these areas is the paucity of available data. Hence, each and every posslble source should be thoroughly scrutinised.

One such source seems to have been constituted by some observations and statements of a high Roman official, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (c. 64/63—c. 12 B.C.),[23] quoted or alluded to by certain classical writers. As will be stated later, among their texts are the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny, the *Dimensuratio Provinciarum*, the *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII* of Orosius, etc. The testimonies of Agrippa, used in these treatises, appear to have been taken from his 'design and memoranda', (*destinatio et commentarii*), referred to by Pliny.[24] It will be shown later, on Pliny's authority,[25] that one of the purposes for preparing the 'design and memoranda' was to furnish data for drawing a map of the world (Chapter II, Section A).

The fact that his work was utilised by some eminent authors including Pliny,[26] indicates that to them at least some of his testimonies were trustworthy. Pliny even explicitly stated that "Agrippa was a very painstaking man, and also a very careful geographer".[27] Since he helped Augustus in the holding of a census of the empire,[28] he must have been familiar with the (prevailing) method of collecting data for demographical and geographical research.[29] As an important person of the Roman government, he may also have access to Roman official documents as well as important itineraries and road-surveys of the Roman empire.[30] He was also responsible for constructing four great lines of roads from Lugdunum.[31]

Some of his statements, as judged by Pliny himself, may have been vague and uncertain.[32] This criticism, however, cannot altogether minimise the general value of the work of a fairly well-equipped geographer like Agrippa.[33]

Its usefulness as a source of information on Parthia and India is also apparent. Agrippa was a contemporary of C. Octavius Augustus (63 B.C.—A.D. 14),[34] whose rule as ***princeps Senatus*** (27 B.C.—A.D. 14)[35] witnessed an unprecedented volume of commercial transactions between the Roman empire and the Orient,[36] (and especially India).[37] One of the results was the increase of the West's knowledge about the East.[38] Agrippa, a high Roman official,[39] might well have been aware of this development.[40] In fact, he was twice stationed in the East.[41] Hence he was expected to be conversant with Rome's eastern problems including the delicate question of her relations with the Parthian empire.[42]

He probably also studied, on the basis of available information,[43] the geography of India and the nearby regions. This is at least apparent from Pliny's statement that Agrippa held that India was 3300 miles long and 2300 miles broad.[44]

It appears that Agrippa's information on the known world, including Parthia and India, was as much up-to-date as could have been expected of an important personage of the contemporary Roman empire.[45] This clearly suggests the importance of the 'design and memoranda' (*destinatio et commentarii*) of Agrippa as sources of information on ancient geography or historical geography. So it is a pity that his plan and commentaries are now lost. We do not even know the exact title, if there was any, of his memoranda.[46]

Nevertheless, the above observations on Agrippa make it clear that his statements, quoted in other texts, merit a close scrutiny by researchers in the history of the Arsacid activities in the Indian borderlands. An attempt to study the Agrippan source from this point of view will be made in the following chapter.

We shall then analyse other relevant sources. Finally we shall try to reconstruct the history of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands.

NOTES

1. *Parthia*, p. 270
2. *Ibid*, pp. 19 f.
3. *CHI*. vol. I, pp. 54 f ; W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), chs. IV-VIII ; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, chs. III-VIII ; etc.
4. *Strabo*, XI, 9, 2 ; *Justin*, XLI, 6, 3 ; etc.
5. Among such Indo-Parthian rulers may have been the members of the groups of Vonones, Azes I and Gondophares I. For an account of these rulers, see *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 204 f.
6. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 573 f. See also below Chapter II.
7. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1931, vol. XXVI, pll. 35, 36, 37 and 49 ; *The Oxford Atlas*, 1959, pl. 58,
8. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothekes Historikes*, II, 35.
9. *Strabo*, XV, 1, 11.

10. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 1.
11. *Ibid.*, VI, 18, 5.
12. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 312.
13. *Ptolemy*, VI, 20, 4.
14. W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, p, 34.
15. *Ptolemy*, VI, 21, 1 and 4.
16. See also McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 321.
17. In one section of the *Naturalis Historia*, Pliny himself described the Indus as forming "the western boundary of India" (*NH*, VI, 21, 57).
18. *NH*, VI, 23, 78.
19. E. H Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. I, pp. 194-195 ; H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. I, p. XXV ; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 704 ; *Pauly*, vol. p. XXVIII (2), col. 1789-1790 ; etc.
20. Herodotus, *History*, III, 91, 94 and 98-102 ; IV, 44 ; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1966, vol. I, no 3, p. 5.

    Probably by the time of Alexander at least a great portion, if not the whole, of the Indian subcontinent began to be denoted by the name *India* (consult the observation of Nearchus, a companion of Alexander, quoted in *Strabo*, XV, 1, 12, and in Arrian, *Indike*, VII, 7). However, in a restricted sense *India* meant only an area on the lower Indus even in a much later period (*Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1966, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 5-6).
21. See above, nn. 1 and 19.
22. No doubt, classical writings on India or Asia often incorporated out-of-date materials. Nevertheless, from the days of Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14), the West's knowledge of India and thereabouts increased with the growth of mutual trade and commerce (see E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 1 f). So Greek or Latin texts of the closing years of the 1st century B. C. or of the 1st or 2nd century A. D. may have sometimes incorporated new and contemporary information. See *Ptolemy*, I, 17, 4-5 ; I, 11, 2.

23. For an account of the career of M. V. Agrippa, see M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa*, pp. 1 f ; *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. I, col. 146 ; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 25.
24. *NH*, III, 2, 17.
25. *Ibid*.
26. *NH*, VI, 21, 57. See also *Strabo*, V, 4, 5 ; IV, 6, 11 ; etc.
27. *NH*, III, 2, 17.
28. *Inscriptiones Itineraria*, XIII, 1, p. 254 ; see also Marquardt, *Handbuch der Römische Alterthümer*, vol. III, p. 56.
29. In this connection see also E H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 178.
30 See *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 177. L. Burgow, *History of Cartography* (edited by R. A. Skelton), p. 137. It has been surmised that the road-surveys were carried out under the command of Augustus (*Ibid.*).
31. *Strabo*, IV, 6, 11 ; see also E. H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 142.
32 For example see *NH*, IV, 13, 98-99 ; 16, 102-103 ; etc.
33. Attempts have been made to search for a common earlier core of the *Cosmographia Ravenna*, the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. And following Elter's method of finding a core, they have been connected with Agrippa's map (or rather his data on the basis of which the map was drawn) (*Pauly*, vol. IA1, col. 309 ; see also vol. XIX (2), col- 1406 ; etc). If this theory is acceptable, one will have to believe that the cartographers and geographers of the early centuries of the Christian Era considered the evidence of Agrippa as an important source of information.
34. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 122-123.
35. *Ibid.* ; *Der Kleine Pauly*; vol. I, col. 744-754.
36 M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, 1954, pp. 151 f. In this connection see also L. Boulnois, *The Silk Road* (translated by D. Chamberlin). pp. 23 f.
37. E. H. Warmington, *Op. cit.*, p. 39. That the volume of Indo-Roman trade had already been considerable in the early years of the principate of Augustus was indicated by Strabo. He stated that "when Gallus was prefect of Egypt (*in the early*

period of Augustus' rule), I accompanied him and ascended as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a few ventured to undertake this voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise". (*Italics ours*) (*Strabo*, II, 5, 12).

38. Traders of the Roman empire, who visited India, naturally brought home new information on the latter country and the neighbouring regions. Though Strabo criticised their ability to write correct accounts (*Strabo*, XV, 1, 4), classical writers of the post-Augustan age often used data furnished by merchants and seafarers (*NH*, VI, 26, 101 ; *Ptolemy*, I, 17, 4-5 ; I, 11, 2 ; etc). Same may have been the case with at least a few authors of the period of Augustus. For example we can refer to Cornelius Nepos, who cited a story of Indian navigators (*NH*, II, 67, 170). See alse E. H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 172, where the reliability of this story is questioned.

The commercial character of Indian embassies sent to Augustus is now well-recognised (P. R. Coleman-Norton, (editor), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, p. 141). Strabo speaks of a letter of an Indian king to Augustus expressing the desire to grant him 'the right of access' wherever he wished to go and to assist him in any good enterprise (*Strabo* XV, 1, 73). This perhaps alludes to the Indian monarch's eagerness to allow the Romans to move freely on lawful business and to promote Indo-Roman trade. The results of such diplomatic activities can be traced in the expression *emporion enthesmon* or 'lawful market town' applied to Calliena (or Kalyan near Bombay) in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a work of the 1st. century A. D.

Indian Ambassadors to Augustus (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 1. 31 ; *Strabo*, XV, 1, 73 ; Dion Cassius, *Romaike Historia*, IX, 58 ; etc.) naturally supplied to the Roman empire information on India.

39. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 25.

40. The Roman emperors were not opposed to their subjects' trade with the East. In fact, they encouraged such commerce in practice, if not by policy (P.R. Coleman-Norton (editor), *Op. cit.*, p. 138). Available testimonies do suggest the maintenance of well-paved roads for both military and commercial purposes, the ability of the Roman navy to protect sea-borne traffic, and the official attempts to divert trade from the ports on the eastern shores of the Red Sea to the Egyptian ones under the Roman rule (*NH*, VI, 26, 101; P. R. Coleman-Norton (editor), *Op cit.*, pp. 138-139; E. H. Warmington, *Op. cit.*, pp. 14 f; M. Rostovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd edition), vol. I, p. 66). It was to the advantage of the emperors to encourage their subjects' preoccupation with professional and business matters, since it induced political apathy (*CAH*, vol. X, p. 388.). It was also natural for the Roman emperors to help the growth of a trade deterimental to the financial interest of the inimical Imperial Parthians.

Augustus seems to have favoured the development of commercial relations with the East including India (E. H. Warmington, *Op. cit.*, pp. 39 f). So Agrippa, a Roman official, should have been acquainted with the direct as well as indirect outcomes of the activities of Princeps Senatus Augustus.

41. See above n. 23.

42. For an account of the rivalry between the Parthian and the Roman empires, see *Parthia*, pp. 143 f; and Karl-Heinz Ziegler, "*Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom and dem Partherreich.*" *Ein Beitrag zur Geschihte des Völkerrechts*, pp. 1 f.

It has been suggested that the departure of Agrippa to the East was for negotiating the return of the standard of Crassus, captured earlier by the Parthians (*Classical Philology*, 1908, vol. III, pp. 145-152).

Agrippa's knowledge about Parthia might have been based on (i) his personal experience gathered in the East, and (ii) on the accounts of earlier writers, traders and officials, and also (iii) on the reports of the Roman military expeditions into or near the Parthian empire.

43. Among the data available to Agrippa were the accounts of earlier writers, itineraries of seafarers and traders, reports of the Indian embassies and the information he could have collected while serving in the East.

We may point out here that Propertius wrote that "Caesar (i. e. *Augustus*), our god, plans war against rich India and would cleave with his fleet the pearl bearing sea" (*Italics ours*) (*Sexti Properti Elegiarum*, III, IV, l. 1.) The poet also observed that "even India, Augustus, bows her neck to grace thy triumph" (*Ibid.*, II, X, l. 16). In another place he stated that "many, O Rome, shall add fresh glories to thine annals, singing that Bactra shall be thine empire's bound" (see *Ibid*, III, I, l. 16).

Propertius was a contemporary of Octavius (*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p- 737). His patron, C. Maecenas, was even a friend and military adviser to Octavius (*Parthia*, p. 139, f. n. 50). Hence Propertius was in a position to secure official information. These considerations may tempt one to suggest that expeditions against India or Bactra were among Augustus' plans (see *ibid.*, pp. 138-139 and f.n. 50). At least such might have been the contemporary popular notions. (Books II and III of the *Sexti Properti Elegiarum* may be dated to the eighth decade of the 1st. century B. C. See H. E. Butles, *Propertius*, p. IX ; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 737).

The Roman interest in these territories probably presupposes the availability of new information on them. Such information could have been utilised by Agrippa.

44. *NH*, VI, 21, 57.

45. See above nn. 22, 38, 42 and 44.

46. E. H. Bunbury thinks that the anonymous (?) work cited by Strabo under the title of 'the chorographer' was either the commentary of Agrippa appended to his map (or to his design mentioned by Pliny ?), or was directly derived from

it (E. H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, p. 177, f. n. 7; see also *Strabo*, II, 5, 17).

J. W. McCrindle has observed that the *Commentarii* of Agrippa "were probably lists which he drew up in the measurement of the Roman world projected by Julius Caesar when he was consul in 44 B C., and completed during the reign of Augustus. Zenodoxus, who measured all the eastern part of the empire, was engaged in that work for upwards of twenty-one years" (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 107, f. n. 2).

E. H. Bunbury, however, thinks that "the construction of this map (*based on Agrippa's design and memoranda*) and the accompanying commentaries (of *Agrippa*) may probably have given rise to the popular notion, which we find in later writers, that Julius Caesar had ordered a general measurement of the world to be made, which was completed under the reign of Augustus. This notion was also undoubtedly connected with the supposed decree that 'all the world should be taxed' and with the real fact that a census of the population of the empire was ordered and accomplished by Augustus" (*Italics ours*) (E. H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p 178).

CHAPTER II

THE EVIDENCE OF AGRIPPA

A

The *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny, dedicated to Titus in A.D. 77,[1] states that Marcus Agrippa intended "to set before the eyes of the world a survey of the earth," and that Augustus Caesar "completed the portico containing a plan of the world that had been begun by his sister in accordance with the design and memoranda of Marcus Agrippa."[2]

It seems that the latter made a geographical survey to facilitate *inter alia* the drawing of a map of "the world" to be set up in Rome before the "eyes of the world". It also appears that Agrippa himself was not alive when the construction of the portico displaying this map was completed. There is no reason to believe either that an unusally long time was spent in building a single portico, or that there was a great interval between the completion of the survey of the world and the beginning of that construction. Hence it may be inferred that Agrippa finished his work in the later period of his life.

He was born in c. 64-63 B.C.[3] And as he could not possibly have begun his survey before attaining sufficiently mature age, the commencement of such a work should not be dated before at least c. 44 B.C. It is more probable that it was started several years later. So we may surmise that Agrippa surveyed the known world sometime between c. 44 B.C. and c. 12 B.C., the year of his death.[4]

The "design and memoranda", prepared by Agrippa during this period, furnished data for the drawing of the map of "the world". It has been suggested that his survey may also have been appended to the map as a commentary on it.[5] Unfortunately neither the survey nor the map itself has survived to our time. Nevertheless, some of his observations were incorporated in the writings of classical authors.

According to one such observation, preserved in a passage in the *Naturalis Historia*, "Media, Parthia, and Persidae are bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by the Tigris, on the north by the Taurus and Caucasus (Mountains), and on the south by the Red Sea, and cover an area of 1320 miles in length and of 840 miles in breadth." (Mediam et Parthiam et Persidem ab oriente Indo, ab occidente Tigri, a septentrione Tauro, Caucaso, a meridie Rubro Mari terminatas patere in longitudinem |$\overline{\text{XIII}}$|$\overline{\text{XX}}$ p., in latitudinem DCCCXL prodidit).[6] As Pliny explicitly attributes this statement to Marcus Agrippa,[7] there cannot be any doubt about its authorship.

An almost identical information is furnished in the *Divisio Orbis*,[8] dated to c. A.D. 393.[9] Here, however, the name of the Caucasus is omitted.[10] Nevertheless, the points common to both the accounts are strong enough to suggest the *Divisio Orbis*' indebtness to the earlier survey of Agrippa.[11]

The *Dimensuratio Provinciarum*, prepared between

c. A.D. 393 and 417,[12] adds Carmania and Ariana to the above list of countries. This treatise also replaces the Tigris and the Red Sea respectively by Mesopotamia and the Persian Sea, and omits the Caucasus.[13]

We should, however, point out that Agrippa himself is known to have defined Mesopotamia as bounded by the Tigris on the east, the Euphrates on the west, the Taurus on the north, and the Persian Sea on the south.[14] Hence, following him, Mesopotamia, to the west of the Tigris, as well as that river itself could have been regarded as forming the western terminus of the groups of lands in question.[15]

The Persian Sea, apparently including the Persian Gulf,[16] was at least sometimes considered by classical writers as a part of the Erythra Thalatta[17] or the Maris Rubri,[18] i.e., the Red Sea.[19] So, without contradicting Agrippa, the group of lands described by him could also have been defined as limited by the Persian Sea on the south.

There is thus some similarity between the evidence of the *Dimensuratio Provinciarum* and that of Agrippa. In fact, it has already been demonstrated that Agrippa was one of the authorities followed by this treatise. These considerations perhaps suggest that the *Dimensuratio Provinciarum*'s description followed, among others, the testimony of Agrippa.[20]

B

It appears that his statement, quoted above, was utilised by a few other writers. If one scrutinises this and also other observations of Agrippa, as far as

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can be gathered from different classical writings, it becomes apparent that he demarcated the boundaries sometimes of a single region and sometimes of a group of countries taken together.[21] The adoption of the latter system would have been meaningless unless different regions included in one group were related with one another by certain connections—political, administrative or otherwise.[22]

This inference is supported by the *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII* of Orosius, composed in A.D.417-418.[23] It has long been recognised that the description of the world, as is given in this treatise, is mainly, if not wholly, taken from a second century work based upon the geography of Agrippa.[24] According to this text of Orosius, "between the Indus on the east and the Tigris river, which lies on the west, are the following : Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persida and Media, by nature rough and mountainous lands. On the north they are bounded by the Caucasian Range, on the south by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, while in the centre flow their principal rivers, the Hydaspes and the Arbis. In these regions there are thirty-two[25] peoples. It (*the entire region between the Indus and the Tigris*) is commonly spoken of as Parthia, although the sacred Scriptures often call the whole area Media"[26] (*Italics ours*).

No doubt, this account varies in details from that of Agrippa, as quoted by Pliny. Nevertheless, the boundaries of the groups of countries enumerated in these extracts are substantially identical. This seems significant in view of the well established theory of Orosius' dependence on the Agrippan source. It appears that the passage of Orosius is ultimately based on the above mentioned information furnished by Agrippa, even though it may contain supplementary remarks and interpretations. The last two sentences[27] of the statement of Orosius suggest that at least to him the report of Agrippa, quoted above, was a description of the limits of the Parthian empire. This interpretation of Orosius, whether his own or borrowed from an earlier source, makes Agrippa's enlisting of different countries in one group quite meaningful. Those different regions were interrelated as parts of one and the same Parthian empire. And there is no reason why we should reject such a logical explanation.

In fact, such a hypothesis is further substantiated by an evidence of Isidore of Seville. He states that "from the frontiers of India as far as Mesopotamia (*the land*) is generally called Parthia. On account of the unconquered strength of the Parthians both Assyria and other neighbouring regions changed their names to that of Parthia. There are, therefore, in it Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Media and Persia, which being united with one another begin from the Indus and are enclosed by the Tigris. They are mountainous and rugged having the rivers Hydaspes and Arbis. They are separated by their own boundaries, bearing such names as given by their own authors".[28]

No doubt, the relation of the statement of Isidore of Seville with the evidence of Agrippa is not very clear. Nevertheless, a comparison between the passages of Orosius and Isidore alludes to a common source of information. And since, as pointed out above,

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Orosius' statement was ultimately based on a testimony of Agrippa, the latter might also have indirectly influenced Isidore's account. Moreover, his method of signifying various territories by the name of Parthia supports our interpretation of Agrippa's system of enlisting different countries in one group.

These considerations tend to lead to the inference that Agrippa's definition of the limits of a group of lands, as stated in the above mentioned passage of Pliny, is actually a description of the boundaries of the Parthian empire. We are, however, not sure whether Ariana and Carmania, referred to in the *Dimensuratio Provinciarum* and also by Orosius, were included in the original account of Agrippa. For these countries do not figure in the earliest notice (viz. by Pliny) of Agrippa's list.

C

An attempt should now be made to determine the date of the datum or data on the basis of which Agrippa made his observations. The western border of the group concerned—which denotes, as we have seen, the Parthian empire—is stated to have been along the Tigris. The demarcation of the eastern boundary of the Roman empire and consequently that of the western limits of the Parthian dominions were burning questions during most of the period (c. B.C. 44-12) in which Agrippa made his survey. Moreover, as we have already noted, he himself was a high official in the Roman empire and twice served in the East (Chapter I, Section C). Hence it is difficult to believe that his conception of the western boundary of the Parthian territory was much out of date.[29] In other words, the date of the source or sources of Agrippa's information about the Parthian empire should be placed in the period within which he made his survey.

Only twice during this period could the Tigris, skirting Mesopotamia, have formed the western limits of the Parthian power. Dates on two groups of tetradrachms, minted at Seleucia, are considered to correspond respectively to May, 26 B.C., and March, 25 B.C.[30] The ruler, referred to in the legends on these coins, has been identified with Tiridates II.[31] These dated tetradrachms, minted at Seleucia, thus indicate that Tiridates II was in occupation of that region and so probably of parts, if not the whole, of Mesopotamia in May, 26 B.C., and again in March, 25 B.C.[32] In both the months Tiridates II was in revolt against Phraates IV, the reigning Parthian emperor.[33] A class of dated tetradrachms, minted at Seleucia, also shows that the latter ruler controlled that area before, after and between the two last mentioned dates.[34] So only on two occasions within the period in question regions immediately to the west of the Tigris seceded from the Imperial Parthian dominions.[35] The date of Agrippa's information, embodied in his relevant observation, should thus be placed either in 26 or in 25 B.C.[36]

D

It appears that sometime in 26 or in 25 B.C.[37] the Parthian empire, including, *inter alia*, Parthia, Media, and Persidae, had the Tigris as its western and the

Indus as its eastern boundary. At least some parts immediately to the west of the Indus appear to have been under the rule of the Imperial Parthians at this time.

It is well-known that in and about this stipulated period a group or groups of Parthians or Scytho-Parthians dominated the north-western parts of the Indian sub-continent.[38] The locality of modern Charsada (in the Peshawar district) or ancient Pushkarāvatī of Gandhāra[39] and also some regions to its immediate north were included in their dominions.[40] Their coins,[41] which form the main source of our information about them, never indicate that these Scytho-Parthian chiefs, using the presumptuous royal title of 'king of kings',[42] ever controlled these areas as subordinate rulers[43] (see also Appendix I). Hence the territory of the Imperial Parthians on the west of the Indus should better be placed on the lower portions of that river somewhere below the present Charsada area.

No doubt, E. J. Rapson[44] and, following him, S. Konow,[45] W. W. Tarn,[46] J. Marshall[47] and some other scholars[48] envisaged a migration of the Śakas from Seistan, through Arachosia and over the Brahui mountains, to the Lower Indus valley and thence, under Maues, up along the Indus and into the Punjab. A. Cunningham once thought that Maues was the leader of the Meds, whose country was called Media in the ***Tabula Peutingeriana***, and who were the same as the Mands, placed by Ibn Haukal in certain areas including the one on the Mihran (i.e. the Indus) from the boundary of Multan to the sea.[49]

Although the name *Scythia*, ascribed to the Lower Indus valley by *inter alia* the Periplus (Sec. 38), presupposes a Scythian (Śaka) settlement in that area, there is no sherd of evidence to suggest Maues' connection with it.[50] A. Cunningham's theory of relationship between Maues and the Meds is also not substantiated by any reliable source.

We may also refer here to the attempt of A. Cunningham to draw scholars' attention to a story in the *Mujmalu-t Tawārīkh*. It refers to the rule of Ayand and of his son Rāsal in the Sind region.[51] A. Cunningham wanted to identify Ayand with Azes (Azes I ?) and Rāsal with Azilises.[52]

Neither of the identifications is, however, justifiable on phonetic grounds. Nor does any unimpeachable testimony prove the historicity of this story. In fact, no source, literary, epigraphic or numismatic, indicates the rule of the group of Azes I in the lower Indus valley.

It appears that at least up to the end of the rule of the group of Azes I the lower Indus region, roughly corresponding to the British province of Sind and South Bahawalpur,[53] was not annexed to the territory of the known Scytho-Parthian chiefs. Available sources suggest that it was probably the groups of Azes I which formed the most important political power in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent in the period in question (Appendix I). Though the last vestiges of the Indo-Greek rule may have been still extant at that time,[54] it is not known to have any political influence in the lower Indus area in the eighth decade of the 1st century B.C.

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In fact, no important power of North-Western India is recorded to have ruled the territory concerned in 26 or in 25 B.C. Hence there is no apparent difficulty in postulating, following the evidence of Agrippa, a theory of the Imperial Parthian hegemony in at least a part of the lower Indus region to the west of the Indus or rather in a region on the western bank of the Indus somewhere below the Charsada area.[55]

NOTES

1. *NH*, Preface, sec. 3. It is believed that revisions were still in progress at the time of Pliny's death in A.D. 79 (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 704).
2. *NH*, III, 2, 17. The term "sister" in this passage probably refers to Polla, sister of Agrippa (*CAH*, vol. X, p. 572).
3. *Der Kliene Pauly*, vol. I, col. 145 ; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 25.
4. L. Burgow thinks that Agrippa's "world map" (or the "design" for the world map ?) was completed in 20 B.C. (L. Burgow, *The History of Cartography*, edited by R. A. Skelton, p. 37).
5. E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. II, p. 177.
6. *NH*, VI, 31, 137.
7. *Ibid*, V1, 31, 136.
8. *Divisio Orbis*, 23.
9. D. Detlefsen, *Ursprung, Einrichtung und Bedeutung der Erdkarte Agrippas*, pp. 19 and 54.
10. *Ibid*, p. 54 ; *Divisio Orbis*, 23.
11. D. Detlefsen, *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
12. *Ibid*, pp. 19f.
13. *Ibid*, *p*. 54 ; *Dimensuratio Provinciarum*, 2.

14. *NH*, VI, 21, 137.
15. There are also discrepancies between different citations of Agrippa's opinion about the northern and southern limits of the group of lands under discussion. However, such differences are immaterial to our purpose.
16. *NH*, VI, 32, 143 ; VI, 31, 138.
17. For an example see *NH*, VI, 38, 107-108.
18. *Ibid*, VI, 38, 107.
19. H. Rackham (editor), *Pliny, Natural History*, Vol. II, p. 421. However, see also Schoff, *Periplus*, pp 50-51.
20. D. Detlefsen, *Op. cit.*, pp. 9f.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 5 and 25f.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 4f.
23. J. W. Raymond, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, pp. 8-9 and 16.
24. J. Partsch, *Die Darstellung Europa in der geographischen Werke des Agrippa*, p. 11 ; F. Braun, "Die Enturcklung der Spanischen Provinzialgrenzen in römischer Zeit" *in Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, vol. XVII, p. 19. D. Detlefsen discusses the question of relationship between Orosius and Aethicus (*Op. cit.*, p. 19).
25. C. Zangemeister (editor), *Pauli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri*, VII, p. 6. In the translation given in the work of J. W. Raymond (*Op. cit.*, p. 36) the number of peoples is stated as twenty-three.
26. *His. Ad. Pag.*, I, 2, 17-19.
27. *Ibid*, I, 2, 19.
28. *Patrologia Latina* (Migne edition), 82, 497 ; Isidore, *Etymologiarum liber*, 14, 3, 8 ; see also *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1942, vol. XXVIII, p. 267.
29. The failure of Gallus' expedition into Arabia during the early period of Augustus' rule was at least partly due to the Roman ignorance of the pysical conditions of that country (*CAH*, vol. IX, p. 252). However, it is difficult to believe that in the Augustan age the top Roman officials were ignorant of the alignment of the Parthian frontier, which was of capital importance to Rome and at the same time

which had well-frequented trade routes running along and across it.

30. R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 185 ; *Coins of Parthia*, p. 135 ; *Parthia*, p. 137. f. n. 45.
31. See above n. 30.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Tiridates II first revolted against Phraates IV even before 31 B.C. and captured the Parthian throne. However, in c. 30/29 B.C. Phraates IV regained his throne. Tiridates II fled to the court of Augustus. Several dated tetradrachms, ascribed to Tiridates II, indicate thst he was in occupation of the region of Seleucia in May, 26 B.C. Isidore's reference to Tiridates' invasion of an island in the Euphrates (*Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 1) may be referred to this period, and this may indicate Tiridates II's success in different parts of Mesopotamia and adjacent lands. Regions to the west of the Tigris may have now seceded from the Parthian empire. However, as it appears from the numismatic testimonies, Tiridates II was soon ousted from Mesopotamia. He probably fled to the court of Augustus for the second time. Numismatic evidence suggests that Tiridate II was again in occupation of Seleucia in March, 25 B.C. Parts of Mesopotamia may have again been out of the boundaries of the Parthian empire. However, by May of the same year Phraates II had captured Seleucia. Tiridates II was no more heard of. (For the original sources on which the reconstruction of events given here is based, see *Parthia*, p. 136, f.n. 44 ; p. 137, f.nn. 45, 46 and 47 : p. 138, f.n. 49 and pp. 135-138).
34. R. H. McDowell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 135 and 185 ; *Parthia*, p. 137, fn. 45.
35. It may be pointed out that in the years 42/41, 41/40, 38/37 and 32/31 B. C. autonomous copper coins were minted at Seleucia (R. N. McDowell, *Op.* cit., pp. 184-185). However, since the right to issue autonomous coinage was accorded to Seleucia by the Arsacid dynasty itself, which was withdrawn only in c. A.D. 24, these numismatic testimonies

should not necessarily imply revolts of Seleucia against the Parthian empire in the years in question (*Ibid.*, pp. 131 and 218-219).

36 Between 58/57 B.C. and 55/54 B.C. parts of Mesopotamia to the west of the Tigris may have been outside the main body of the Parthian empire on more than one occasion (R. H. McDowell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 215-216 ; *Parthia*, p. 78). However, since Agrippa could not possibly have begun his survey before c. 43 B.C., and since his knowledge of the western boundary of Parthia was probably not much out-of-date, his information in question should not refer to the period ranging from 58/57 to 55/54 B.C.

37. It may be argued that if Agrippa had an up-to-date information about the Parthian frontiers, why did his observation in question refer to the conditions of 26 or 25 B.C., and not to those of 12 B.C., the last year of his life and consequently the latest possible date for completing his survey ? There are two possible answers to this question. Agrippa may have completed his survey by c. 26 or 25 B.C. and not by 12 B.C. However, it should be noted that the map, for the depiction of which—in addition to any other reason—Agrippa collected his materials, was not finally drawn before his death in 12 B.C. This would indicate the alternative suggestion that Agrippa wrote the section of his memoranda pertaining to the Parthian frontiers in c. 26 or 25 B.C., even though some other portions were composed after that year. Agrippa may have been engaged in surveying the world for a great number of years. He was not alive to revise his views when the map was finally drawn on the basis of the design and memoranda prepared by him. (*NH*, III, 2, 17).

38. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 563 f.

39. M. Wheeler, *Charsada*, p. 3 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, LXXXVIII, 189-190 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, VIII, 114, 11 ; *PHAI*, pp. 59 f.

40 *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 571 f ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 1 f ; *NC*, 1965, pp. 109 f.

41. *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 104 f.

42. *Ibid.*
43. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 194 f ; see also above nn. 38 and 39.
44. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 560, 564 and 568 f.
45. *JIH*, 1936, vol. XII, p. 19.
46. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), pp. 232-233.
47. *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 45.
48. *EHNI*, p. 50.
49. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report for the year 1869-70*, vol. IV, p. 52.
50. A. K. Narain, *The Indo Greeks*, pp. 142 f.
51. J. H. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its Own Historians* (2nd edition), vol. I, pp. 109 f.
52. *NC*, 1888, pp. 247-248.
53. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, c. A.D. 1-150.* (in press) ch. I, sec. A.
54. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 1 f.
55. In this connection see also our article in *JAS*, 1965, vol. VII, pp. 167-171.

CHAPTER III

OTHER SOURCES (I)

A

The evidence of Agrippa may not be the only source of our information about the presence of the Arsacids on the Indus. Their activities in territories near as well as on the Indus are perhaps suggested by other data.

A group of coins, ascribed to the reign of Mithridates I,[1] bear on the obverse a bearded bust to right wearing diadem and drapery, and on the reverse naked and beardless Herakles standing to front with face turned left (i.e. to his right) and having a lion's skin over his left fore-arm, a raised club in the half-raised left hand and a wine cup in the extended right hand[2] (pl. II, nos. 1 and 2). Some of the coins of this class are dated.[3] Two of such dates are read as ΓΟΡ[4] and ΔΟΡ[5], i.e. 173[6] and 174.[7] As these dates are to be referred to the Seleucid reckoning, as adopted in the Babylonian calendar from 311 B.C.,[8] the corresponding years in terms of the Christian Era were respectively 139-38 and138-37 B.C.[9]

Naked and beardless Herakles—with a lion skin over the left fore-arm, a raised club in the half-raised left hand and a wreath in the extended right hand—stands to front on several coins of the Bactrian Greek rulers Euthydemus II[10] and Zoilus,[11] which have royal bust as the obverse type[12] (pl. II, no. 3 and 4). The same deity occurs also on the reverse of a number of coins of Demetrius I,[13] and Lysias,[14] which bear royal bust on the obverse.[15] On these pieces naked and beardless Herakles stands to front in similar posture and holds identical objects, though the upraised right hand crowns his head with a wreath and is not held out grasping the latter[16] (pl. II, nos. 5 and 6). This type also forms one of the reverse devices of the coins of the Scytho-Parthian ruler Vonones and his associates[17] (pl. II, nos. 7 and 8).

There is no gainsaying the noticeable minor dissimilarities between the postures and attributes of Herakles on these classes of species. Nevertheless, their underlying common link is betrayed by the appearance of standing Herakles with upraised club and lion's skin on all of them. The coins of the group of Vonones, carrying this device, have been found mainly in the regions of Kandahar and Ghazni,[18] included in ancient Arachosia.[19] Hence the type may be referred to that territory.

This attribution receives indirect corroboration from a literary source. The *Stathmoi Parthikoi* of Isidore of Charax, statements of which are based on information datable between c. 26 B.C. and 1 B.C.,[20] locates the city of Demetrias apparently near Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia.[21] The latter city has been identified with modern Kandahar.[22] Demetrias, situated near Kandahar,[23] may have commemorated the connection of at least a part of Arachosia with one of the early Bactrian Greek kings bearing the name *Demetrios* or *Demetrius*.[24]

The name indeed appears, as noted above, in the list of rulers who used the device of beardless and naked Herackes on their coins.

Of these monarchs or chiefs at least Demetrius I and perhaps also Euthydemus II[25] reigned before 139/38 and 138/37 B.C., when some, if not all, of Mithridates I's coins in question were minted. Hence it is not unlikely that the Parthian sovereign annexed, even if temporarily, at least a part of Arachosia from the Bactrian Greeks.[26]

B

Parthian advance to the Indus itself seems to be indicated by a statement of Orosius. According to his *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, Mithridates, the sixth king of the Parthians in the line of Arsaces, conquered the prefect of Demetrius, and then invaded the city of Babylon and all her borders. "He next subdued all the peoples that dwelt in the country between the Hydaspes and the Indus. He extended his bloody rule even to India." He conquered and captured Demetrius in a second war.[27]

It is clear from the context that Mithridates in question was the Arsacid monarch Mithridates I. Dr. V. A. Smith identified Hydaspes of the above passage with the Indian Hydaspes or Jhelum and suggested that it should indicate Mithridates I's conquest of North-Western India.[28] E. J. Rapson, on the other hand, thought that the Hydaspes in question was the Median Hydaspes, referred to by Virgil,[29] and denied the probability of such a conquest.[30] W. W. Tarn preferred to connect the Hydaspes with the Purali in Baluchistan.[31]

As Orosius himself in one paragraph mentions the Hydaspes and the Arbis as separate rivers and locates them to the west of the Indus,[32] the Hydaspes in question cannot be convincingly identified either with the Jhelum to the east of the Indus or with the Purali, which may have been known to some classical authors as Arbis, Arabis, Arbius or Arabios.[33] Nevertheless, even though this Hydaspes may not have any connection with India, the Indus of Orosius' statement in question can mean nothing but the great Indian river of that name. In fact, in the very same passage Mithridates I is noted as having extended his rule to India, i.e. the border of India, and the Indus is referred to in many early classical sources as forming the western limit of India.[34] This passage then may indicate the Parthian conquest of a certain region immediately to the west of the Indus during the reign of Mithridates I.

This conquest, if it was a reality, took place, as suggested by the account of Orosius, after Mithridates I's success against the general of Demetrius. The date of the latter incident may be fixed, on the basis of the evidence of a British Museum tablet inscription, in or about the month of Du'uzu of the year 171[35] (of the Seleucid Era), i.e. June-July, 141 B.C.[36] It can also be argued that any event of Mithridates I's reign should be considered to have taken place in or before his last known date, viz, the year 174 (of the Seleucid Era).[37] Hence the campaign on the Indian borders could have taken place between c. June-July 141 and c. 138/137 B.C.

Since the Hydaspes in question cannot be identified with the Jhelum, it is not necessary to locate, following V. A. Smith, the conquered territory in the Western Punjab. As to be shown later, there is also not sufficient ground to support V. A. Smith's theory that Maues, a ruler in North-Western India, was for a few years the Parthian governor of the Western Punjab[38] (Appendix III). The annexed region cannot be placed on the upper course of the Indus, at least not in or above the Peshawar district, which in about the period in question and also long after was definitely under the Indo-Greeks.[39]

On the other hand, there can be no objection to postulating a Parthian conquest of the lower Indus, even down to the sea. No doubt, Strabo holds, on the authority of Apollodorus, that during the days of Menander and Demetrius, son of Euthydemus (I), the Greeks "took possession, not only of Patalene, but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the Kingdom of Saraostos and (*the kingdom of*) Sigerdis"[40] (*Italics ours*). But we have no evidence of the continuation of Greek rule in those places after these early Bactrian Greek (or Indo-Greek) kings.[41] Moreover, the reign of Demetrius in question and at least the early, if not the whole, career of Menander may be placed before c. 141 B.C,[42] the earliest possible date for the Arsacid invasion of the lower Indus area. And available data do not suggest the authority of any other power in the lower Indus country in or immediately before c. 141 B.C. Hence the Parthian conquests, if they extended to the sea on the west of the Indus, might have been responsible for the extinction of Indo-Greek rule at least in Patalene, the Indus delta[43] to the west of the easternmost channel of the Indus.[44]

C

We have already demostrated that Mithridates I controlled Arachosia in C. 138 and 137 B.C. And since, as it has been pointed out above, the Parthian invasion of the Indus region could have taken place about the same time, the Arsacids were in a position to move into the latter area from the near-by Arachosia. Routes through the Bolan as well as Mula Pass connected the Kandahar area with the lower Indus country.[45] Thus the theory of Mithridates I's conquest of Patalene from the Bactrian Greeks does not suffer from any physical imposibility.

Even a little elaboration of the theory may be allowed. As the Peshawar and the Rawalpindi district areas to the north of the lower Indus country were under the Greeks about the time of Mithridates I, their rule could have extended to the Indus delta through the northern region of the lower Indus country. Had the authority of the Greeks been established on the west of the northern portion of the lower Indus, Mithridates I, approaching from Arachosia, might have encountered them also in that territory.

Such a detailed reconstruction of the past is admittedly hypothetical. Nevertheless, the available data do warrant the inference that Mithridates I scored success against the Bactrian Greeks in Arachosia and also in the lower Indus region.

NOTES

1. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. XXV-XXVIII, 12 and 14-15.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. III, nos. 7, 10 and 12.
3. *Ibid*, pl. III, nos 10 and 12.
4. *Ibid*, p 14.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. XXVIII and 14.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. XXVIII and 15.
8. R. H. McDowall, *Coins from Seleucia on Tigris*, pp. 147-153 ; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1937, vol. XLI, pp. 515-517.
9. W. Wroth was wrong in equating the years 173 and 174 respectively with 140-39 and 139-38 B.C. (*Coins of Parthia*, pp. XXVIII and 14-15). See R. H. McDowall, *Op. cit.*, pp. 147-153 and *Parthia*, p. 26 and f.n. 114.
10. *CCGSK*, pl. III, nos. 3 and 4 : A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 22-23.
11. *CCGSK*, pl. XII, no. 10.
12. See above nn. 10 and 11.
13. *CCGSK*, pl. II, nos. 9-12 ; see also A. K Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.
14. *CCGSK*, pl. VIII, nos. 6-7.
15. See above nn. 13 and 14.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *CCGSK*, pl. XXI. nos. 5 and 11 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIV, no. 385.
18. The coins of Vonones and his associates come generally from modern Kandahar and Ghazni regions, though some are found in Seistan and a few in Kabul and a small number in Taxila and different places of the Punjab area of Pakistan (*NC*, 1890, pp. 106-107 and 109 : *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 25 ; R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan, Mémories de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, p. 81 ; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 782).

Thus the provenances of coins locate the kingdom of the group concerned only in Arachosia and its vicinity. This inference is corroborated by the fact that not a single coin of Spalirises, who is to be associated with the Vonones group, has been discovered at Taxila (*Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 51-52). Only three coins of Spalirises and two of Spalyris (Spalahora), another member of that group (see below p. 85), were found by C. Masson at Begram during his search for three years (*JASB*, 1834, p. 171; 1836, pp. 25 and 547-549; *NC*, 1890, p. 109). The number is too small to indicate the rule of the Vonones group in that area (see also below pp. 132-133 for further information). It may also be pointed out that the small number of the coins of this class of rulers picked up at Kabul does not support the theory of P. Gardner (*CCGSK*, p. XLI) and S. Konow (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XL) about Vonones' sway over that locality.

It should be noted that we are not considering here the coins bearing the name of Azes. Although one Azes was associated wfth Spalirises, his direct relation with Vonones is not known. So this Azes cannot be taken as one of Vonones' associates.

19. *Ptolemy*, VI, 18, 1-5 ; *CII*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. XL.
20. W. H. Schoff, *The Parthian Stations By Isidore of Charax*, p. 17.
21. *Parthikoi Stathmoi*, sec. 19.
22. W. H. Schoff, *Op. cit* , p. 14.
23. See also W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, (2nd edition), p. 94.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 94 ; A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-24 and 181 ; A. K. Narain, *The Coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (Numismatic Society of India), no. I, pp. 298, 299, 300 and 301 ; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 106-110 ; etc.
25. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 21-24 and 181.
26. According to Justin, Mithridates (I) "extended the Parthian empire, by reducing many other tribes under his yoke, from the Mount Caucasus to the river Euphrates" (*Justin*, XLI,

6, 8). J. Marshall thinks that this statement means that his dominions stretched from the lower Euphrates to the Hindu-Kush, which should imply that he took possession of Seistan and Western Arachosia. The same scholar has also conjectured that the 'standing Heracles' and 'Zeus enthroned with eagle' types of Mithridates (I), copied from Indo-Greek coin-devices, commemorate these conqnests (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 32, f.n. 3).

The Caucasus of Justin's passage does not necessarily denote the Hindu-Kush range (J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Plutarch and Justin*, p. 58, f.n. 2). Consequently, his evidence cannot imply the annexation of Western Arachosia toMithridates I's empire. Nevertheless, tne Arsacid monarch's 'standing Heracles' type may suggest his authority over at least a part of Arachosia. But his other type, viz. 'Zeus enthroned with eagle', may betray the influence of an identical device of the seleucid coinage (C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd edition, pl. LII, no. 1).

27. *His. Ad. Pag.*, V, 3, 16-17.
28. *ZDMG*, 1906, vol. LX, pp. 49-72. H. C. Raychaudhuri apparently accepted V. A. Smith's suggestion. For the former's interpretation of the passage of Orosius, see *PHAI*, pp. 425-426.
29. *Georgics*, IV, 211.
30. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 568.
31. *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 579.
32. *His. Ad. Pag.*, I, 2, 17-19.
33. *Strabo*, XV, 2, 1 ; *Ptolemy*, VI, 21, 2 ; Arrian, *Indica*, XXI, etc. ; Schoff, *Periplus*, p, 161. According to another view, the Arabios should be identified with the modern Hab (*The Geographical Journal*, 1943, vol. CII, p. 213).
34. Eratosthenes quoted in Pliny, *NH*, VI, 21, 57 ; *Strabo*, XV, 2, 1 ; etc.
35. *Classical Philosophy*, 1937, vol. XXXII, pp. 12 f ; *Parthia*, p. 22, f.n. 99 ; p. 23 and f.n. 101.

36. *Classical Philosophy*, 1937, vol. XXXII, pp. 12 f ; *Parthia*, p. 24, f.n. 105 ; see also *Justin*, XXXVI, 1, 5 f.
37. *Coins of Parthia*, p. 15 ; *Parthia*, p. 26 and f.n. 114 ; see also *Ibid.*, p 124, f.n. 105, and p. 125.
38. *ZDMG*, 1906, vol. LX, pp. 56-57.
39. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 46 f. That part of the Indus, which lies close to its source, may not have been under the Indo-Greeks. However, topographical reasons stand in the way of envisaging any Imperial Parthian dominance in that region in the 2nd century B.C., when the Indo-Greeks were the most powerful people in North-Western India.
40. *Strabo*, XI, 11. 1.

Dr. A. K. Narain is sceptical of the value of the statement of Apollodorus. This scholar thinks that Strabo minimises the value of his evidence by stating in one place that "(he) even contradicts what was known, saying that these kings (*i.e. Bactrian Greek monarchs*) subdued more of India than the Macedonians" (*Italics ours*) (*Strabo*, XV, 1, 3). A. K. Narain is also not sure of the locations of the places mentioned by Apollodorus (A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 93-94).

This criticism is rather unwarranted. Apollodorus was definitely correct in allotting more of India to the Indo-Greeks than to Alexander. Moreover, had Strabo himself been unimpressed by the former's statement regarding the Indo-Greek conquests of Saraostos, etc., he would have recorded his dissent along with the quotation.

No doubt, the identification of Sigerdis is uncertain (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 527 ; *JBRS*, 1949, vol. XXXV, pp. 71-73, etc.). But the topographical positions of Saraostos and Patalene can be located.

The word *Saraostos* or *Saraostus* is probably based on the Indian name *Saurāshṭra* or *Surāshṭra*. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman I describes him as the lord *inter alia* of Ānartta and Surāshṭra (*EI*, vol. VIII, p 44), and speaks of Suviśākha as ruling as his subordinate the whole of these territories (*Ibid*., p. 45). Since the epigraph also states that Suviśākha repaired (on behalf of Rudradāman I) the dam of the Lake Sudarśana (*Ibid.*), apparently in the vicinity of Junagadh (*IA*; 1878, vol. VII, p. 257 ; *JBBRAS*, 1890-94, *os*, vol. XVIII, pp. 47-55), this lake must have been either in Ānartta or in Surāshṭra (*Sanskrita College Patrikā*, 1966-67, pp. 58-59). It also appears from the same source that they were contiguous territories.

The name *Surāshṭra* seems to have survived in *Sorāth*, which denotes an area in Southern Kathiawad (*BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 6). This may indicate that at least South Kathiawad was known in some earlier ages as *Surāshṭra* (*Ibid.*). Ānarttapura, referred to in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi and identified with Vadnagar in the Mehsana district, is considered to have been geographically connected with Ānartta (*Ibid.*). So the latter may have included in some earlier periods certain regions to the east of the Little Rann of Cutch and immediately above Kathiawad (*Ibid.*). It has been suggested that Ānartta may have also incorporated Northern Kathiawad (*Ibid.* Bhagwanlal Indraji observed that certain Puranic passages should indicate the inclusion of the whole of Kathiawad within Ānartta).

Surāshṭra or Saurāshṭra seems to have been referred to in some classical sources as Syrastrene (*Ptolemy*, VII. I, 55-61 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 140). It appears from a section of the *Periplus* (sec. 41) that Syrastrene included the territory now covered by the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north and also a part of the littoral lower Indus country to the east of the Indus (see also B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country*, c. A. D. 1-130, book II, ch. II, in the press).

Syrastrene is mentioned by Ptolemy as a province of Indo-Scythia and is described as "the region about the mouths of the Indus and the Gulf of Kanthi" (*Ptolemy*, VII, I, 55-61). This topographical description and the identification of the Gulf of Kanthi with the Gulf of Cutch (McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 36) perhaps suggest that Syrastrene of Ptolemy may have the wider connotation.

The same geographer states that of Indo-Scythia "the insular portien formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalene" (*Ptolemy*, VII, I 55). It is quite clear from the context that the river in question is the Indus (*Ibid.*). Hence Patalene was the Indus delta— a fact also attested by the companions and annalists of Alexander (Onesicritus quoted in *Strabo*, XV, I, 33 ; Arrian, *Anabaseos Alexandrou*, VI, 18 ; etc.).

The inclusion of Patalene in Gedrosia by Marcianus (*Periplus Maris Exteri*, I, 32 ; C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. I, p. 532) does not necessarily support Narain's scepticism of the validity of the suggested locations of Apollodorus' place names (A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 93, f.n. 7). The statement of Marcianus may have been either the result of a topographical misconception or based on an information datable to a period when Patalene and Gedrosia were under one political power. (See also W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 94 and 260). In fact, the writing of some classical authors (Arrian, *Op. cit.*, V, 18 : Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, IX, 8 ; etc.), based on the observations of Alexander's companions themselves, leave little room for questioning the identification of Patalene with the Indus delta.

R. B. Whitehead's objections to Greek rule in Sind are based mainly on the supposed absence of Indo-Greek coins in that region and non-suitablity of the hot weather of Sind to the Indo-Greeks, the natives of temperate climate (*NC*, 1940, pp. 3-4). However, none of these arguments is convincing. Coins of some other kings, known to have definitely ruled over a part or the whole of Sind, are hardly found there. The so-called *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* clearly indicates that within Ḥndstn, i e. Hindustān, a province of Shāpūr I's empire, was included the

Sind region (*BSOAS*, 1946-48, vol. XII, p. 53 ; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1966, vol. I, no. 3, p. 5). But hardly any coin of that monarch is found in Sind. This only indicates that the presence and not the absence of any ruler's coins in Sind may be of any political significance.

We may also well remember J. Marshall's observation that small antiquities like coins are bound to be rare in an alluvial tract like Sind, where the frequent and widespread inundations of the rivers quickly cover up the remains of human settlements (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 32, f.n. 4). And, in fact, some coins of the Bactrian Greeks have been found in Sind (E. H. Aitkon, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, vol. A, p. 87). Coins bearing respectively the names of Eucratides, Menander, Apollodotus I Soter, etc., have also been discovered in Kathiawad, partly or wholly included in Saurāshṭra-Saraostus (*BG*, vol. I, pt. I. pp. 16-18).

The objection of R. B. Whitehead, based on the climatic conditions, can be refuted by the fact that in more recent times the British people, the natives of a climate colder than that known to the Greeks in their homelands, did conquer Sind.

Thus we see no reason to reject the statement of Apollodorus. However, we do not know whether, as H. K. Deb believes, there were actually Greek mints in Sind (*IHQ*, 1934, vol. X, p. 520) or whether *Theophila*, the name of a town of Ptolemy's Indo-Scythia (VII, 1. 60), should, following W. W. Tarn, be connected with the mother of Demetrius and Apollodotus I (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 147, 234-235 and 526). (For a discussion on the Indo-Greek mints, see *NC*, 1965, pp. 79 f). Nor can we believe that the *Periplus*, which indicates the coins of Menander and Apollodotus as "finding a market" in Barygaza (sec. 47 ; *Our Heritage*, 1965, vol XII, p. 18, f.n. 36), compels us to conclude, as W. W. Tarn thinks, that Indo-Greek rule extended up to Barygaza (= Broach) (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 141-151). (For objections against W. W. Tarn's other arguments about the extension of Greek rule to Barygaza, see A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 93-95). These coins may have been imported into Barygaza by way of commerce just as coins of Eucratides reached Kathiawad, a land not definitely known to have been under his rule.

41. Only one coin of Apollodotus II (Megas) Soter Philopator is known to have been found in Kathiawad (*BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 18, f.n. 3). It may have come into that area by way of trade. The same may have been the case with a piece of Apollodotus (I or II) discovered at Jitalpur in the Baroda district (*JNSI*, 1961, vol. XXIII, p. 441),

42. See above n. 40. According to Polybius, Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus (I), was a young man when he met Antiochus (III) (*Historiae*, XI, 39). This incident probably took place in c. 208 B. C. (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 82 ; *CAH*, vol. VIII, pp. 138 f). So it is not necessary to hold that Demetrius (I) reigned even forty or fifty years after that date. Menender probably married Agatchoclea, the sister or daughter of Demetrius I's son Agathocles (*Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, p. 245 ; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 553 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 78 and 225 ; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 75 and 181 ; A. N. Lahiri, *Op. cit*, p. 76). Hence Menander may well have begun his career before c. 150 B. C. In fact, Strabo's statement on the Greek conquest of Patalene, etc., may suggest that this was the result of military actions taken jointly by Demetrius (I) and Menander. The Greek may have lost Patalene sometime later.

43. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 627 ; J. W. Raymond, *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.

44. Von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 50 ; *ZDMG*, 1906 vol LX, p. 58.

45. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 564 ; E. H. Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER SOURCES (II)

A

A few other texts may be relevant to our study of the sources suggesting the presence of the Imperial Parthians on the Indus and in nearby regions.

In this connection we may refer to the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*, which is a well-known cycle of legends found in Jaina scriptures and texts. One of its episodes deals with the quarrel between Kālakāchārya and Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjayinī. The important features of this episode, found in different long and short versions, may be enumerated as follows.[1]

Kālaka, according to most of the early versions,[2] was a son of Vairasiṁha (variant readings of his name — *Vairasīha*, *Vajrasiṁha*, *Verisiṁha*, *Vayarasīha*,[3] etc.), the king of Dharāvāsa. He became a Jaina monk and went to Ujjayinī where his sister Sarasvatī (called Sīlamaī in one version)[4] also resided in a Jaina convent.

King Gardabhilla (also called Dappaṇa in a few editions)[5] of Ujjayinī was fascinated by the beauty of Sarasvatī and ravished her. The enraged Kālaka left the city and, according to the Long Anonymous Version, "travelling continuously reached the bank called the Scythian bank" (*aṇavarayaṁ cha gachchhanto patto Sagakūlaṁ nāma kūlam*).[6] In the version of Bhāvadeva-sūri it is stated that "the sage went to the Scythian bank situated on the other side of the Sindhu" (*Sindhuparakūlammi Sagakūlaṁ gao muṇī*),[7] whereas, according to the *Śrī-vīra-vākyānumatam* recension, Kālaka "sūri went to the bank of the Sindhu river which was the bank of the western side" (*sūrir-gata eva Sindhor-nadyās=taṭaṁ (nadasya taṭaṁ) paśchima-pārśva-kūlam*).[8] The *Niśītha-chūrṇī*[9] and the *Kathāvalī* of Bhadreśvara[10] refer to the destination of Kālaka as the Persian bank (*Pārasakūlam*).[11]

In the land in question lived a Sāhi, (i.e., Shāhi or King), whose overlord was called Sāhānusāhi (i.e., Shāhānushāhi or the King of Kings). Kālaka stayed with the former. To this Sāhi there came a messenger from the Sāhānusāhi, demanding his death and also that of ninety-five other Sāhis. In order to escape the wrath of their master the Sāhis were advised by Kālaka to go to Hindukadeśa (Mālavadeśa in one (?) version[12] and the kingdom of Gaddabhilla in another[13]). According to the Long Anonymous Version, Hindukadeśa could be reached by crossing the Sindhu,[14] i.e., the Indus.

The Sāhis crossed the Indus and came to the land of Surāshṭra. There they settled for some time and then proceeded to Ujjayinī. The city was besieged and Gardabhilla was ousted. Sarasvatī was re-established in the discipline.

The Sāhis began to rule the conquered land with that Sāhi, to whom Kālaka had resorted, as their overlord. Thus arose the family of the Sagas or Śakas.[15]

According to some recensions, the Śakas were uprooted by one Vikramāditya.[16] The Long Anonymous Version states that this Vikramāditya, who had become the king of Mālava by exterminating the Śaka family, established his own era, and that his family was later destroyed by another Śaka king, who started his own reckoning when 135 years of the Vikrama Era had already lapsed.[17]

The earliest manuscript of the Long Anonymous Version, the most elaborate of all recensions, is dated in the year 1335 of the Vikrama Samvat, [18] i.e., A.D. 1277/78 or 1278/79. Again, another manuscript of the same recension, dated in the following year,[19] contains many copyists' errors,[20] and hence indicates that between the date of the original manuscript of this version and that of the present one should be allotted enough time for the accumulation of a number of bad readings, possibly as a result of inaccuracies of succeeding generations of copyists.

Bhāvadeva-sūri, who is known to have flourished about the middle of the 13th century A.D., wrote a brief version of the Kālaka story.[21] It appears that by that time the Kālaka legend had already become well-known in Jaina literary circles. On the other hand, it has been pointed out[22] that we should recognise in the name of Vairasiṁha of Dharāvāsa—noted in most of the versions as the father of Kālaka—one of the Vairasiṁhas of the Paramāra family of Dhārā or Dhar.[23] Thus the full development of the story could not have taken place prior to the second quarter of the 9th century A.D., when Vairasiṁha I began to rule.[24]

The connotation of the term *Hindukadeśa*, as used in the above form of the story, also indicates a late origin for the present state of that legend. Here Hindukadeśa is placed to the east of the Indus—one version even replaces it by Mālavadeśa and another by the kingdom of Gardabhilla. Thus Hindukadeśa of our story cannot be identified with Sindhuka or Sindhudeśa, meaning in pre-Christian and early Christian centuries a land to the west of the Indus.[25] The term *Hindukadeśa* may be more favourably compared with the name *Hind*, by which some Muslim chroniclers and geographers of early mediaeval times meant India or parts of it to the east of the Indus.[26]

On the other hand, there are certain factors which indicate a high antiquity for at least some parts of the Kālaka story. The name *Kālaka* is a celebrated one in Jaina hagiology. It may be pointed out, without entering into the question of plurality of Kālakas,[27] that all authorities ascribe the year 453 of the Vīra Era to a Jaina monk having such a name.[28] In a stanza appended to three manuscripts of Dharmaprabha-sūri's version it is stated that in the same year Kālaka "took" (*gahiyā*) Sarasvatī.[29] This evidence, even though appearing in a comparatively late version,[30] may be accepted—on the ground of its not being contradicted by any other source—at least as a working hypothesis. The Kālaka associated with Sarasvatī should be the same as the brother of the Sarasvatī of our story. In fact, Merutuṅga, though another late authority,[31] explicitly states that in the year 453 after Vīra's *nirvāṇa* Kālikāchārya (i.e., Kālakāchārya), the uprooter of Gardabhilla, was honoured with the title of *Sūri*.[32] Hence it is possible that our Kālaka lived in 453 of the Vīra Era. Although there is a controversy about the epoch of this era, no existing theory would place the year 453 of that reckoning after the 1st. century B.C.[33] or much before it.

Traditional chronology, however, should never be accepted as an independent evidence. Hence the testimony of Ptolemy confirming a part of our story is much more important for our purpose. It states that after crossing the Sindhu (or the Indus) the Sāhis (or Shāhis) entered Surāshṭra. The widest possible geographical limits of this country included, as the cumulative evidence of certain sources should indicate, the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north and also a part of the littoral lower Indus area to the east of the Indus (see above p. 36, n. 40).[34] Hence it can be assumed that within the land of the Sāhis or Shāhis, called Sagakūla, was incorporated the coastal portions of modern Sind to the west of the Indus. Again, since these Shāhis crossed the Indus only once, they should have sailed across its main eastern arm flowing near the Saurāshṭra area. In other words, the Indus delta, known to the classical writers as Patalene,[35] was in Sagakūla. This interpretation compels us to reject the theories of S. Konow and K. P. Jayaswal, who placed Sagakūla respectively in Sauvīra[36] and Eastern Persia (Seistan ?).[37]

In the second or the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D.[38] Ptolemy enumerated Patalene, Syrastrene and Aberia or Sabeiria as the provinces of Indo-Scythia,[39] and at the same time included within Indo-Scythia several towns situated outside the possible natural limits of any of those three regions.[40] It appears that Ptolemy extended the ethno-geographical name of Indo-Scythia (i.e., land of the Indian

Scythians or Scythians in India) to a larger political division. This bigger unit incorporated the land denoted by the geographical connotation of the term *Indo-Scythia* and also certain tracts politically annexed to the territory of some power ruling Indo-Scythia at the time to which Ptolemy's source of information should be dated.

As a tract is not likely to be called after a people until some time after their first settlement in it, Ptolemy's evidence, which implies that Aberia or Saberia, Patalene and Syrastrene were known as the lands of the Scythians, should indicate that the Scythian colonisation of these provinces probably started long before the date of his *Geography* or rather that of the source of his information. In fact, the *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* (or the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*), a text probably of the 1st century A.D.,[41] locates Scythia in the lower Indus area.[42] We have also convincing data to suggest that some of the sources of Ptolemy's information may be dated to certain periods earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era.[43]

The evidence of Ptolemy thus shows that Patalene and Syrastrene began to be inhabited by the Scythians long, even centuries, before the date of his *Geography*, i.e., the second or the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. These are precisely two of the three territories indicated in the Kālaka story to have been colonised by the Sagas or Śakas by the time of Kālaka, whom the Jaina hagiology dates to c. 1st century B.C. And as Śakas were certainly Scythians,[44] the testimony of Ptolemy lends conviction to at least a part of the Kālaka story.

The *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* indicates that Sagakūla or Śakakūla [including the area called Patalene (in classical sources)] was colonised by the Śakas before their settlement in Surāshṭra.

We have noted above that in two versions there appears the name *Pārasakūla* in place of *Sagakūla*. The term *Sagakūla* and *Pārasakūla* are not necessarily contradictory. For the "Scythian bank" might also be called the "Persian bank", if it was included within the dominions of an Iranian overlord. We can assume, in the light of the above evidence of Ptolemy, that the Śakas (Scythians) colonised certain regions on the lower Indus by the time of the Imperial Parthians.[45] And from its situation, the Parthian empire may well have been referred to by an Indian author as a Persian empire. It is also to be noted that the overlord of the Śaka Shāhis was known by the appellation *Sāhānusāhi* (i.e., *Shāhānushāhi*), an Iranian version—probably familiar among the inhabitants of the Indo-Iranian borderlands—of the title *Basileos Basileon* appearing on coins of the Imperial Parthians.[46]

If one accepts the evidence of the Long Anoymous Version as correct in stating that the Vikrama Era was established after the overthrow of the Śaka rule in Ujjayinī, the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*'s references to Sagakūla and probably to the Parthian hegemony over Sagagūla may be dated well within the first half of the 1st century B.C.[47] However, it must be noted that neither the earliest examples of the use of the era of 58 B.C. are found in the region of Ujjayinī, nor does the name *Vikrama* appear in such instances. More-over, the story of the Śaka occupation of Ujjayinī before the beginning of the Christian Era is not corroborated by any reliable independent evidence.[48]

No doubt, as S. Konow[49] and K. P. Jayaswal[50] contended, some Jaina treatises including the *Pattavalīs*[51] and the *Therāvalī* of Merutuṅga[52] put the rule of the Śakas in Ujjayinī before the beginning of the Vikrama Era.[53] These scholars also place Nabhovāhana and Gardabhilla before the Śakas,[54] and think that Nabhovāhana was the same as Nahapāna of coins and inscriptions. The latter identification is made virtually certain by the premises that another Jaina work describes a protracted struggle between a Sātavāhana king and Nahavāhaṇa,[55] that the name of the latter may be a variant of the name *Nabhovāhana*, and that the only ruler known to have been involved in such a war and to have borne a name almost similar to that of Nahavāhaṇa was Nahapāna.[56] But this Nahapāna could not have ruled before the 1st century A.D.[57] This at once reveals the weakness of the relevant portions of the works on which S. Konow and K. P. Jayaswal depended. Hence it must be admitted that no reliable source testifies to Śaka rule in Ujjayinī in the 1st century B.C.

It appears that, of the different features of the Kālaka story, only the existence of a Śaka colony on the western bank of the lower Indus, the Parthian hegemony over the same region, and the activities of the Śakas in Surāshṭra can be taken as historical facts. It is doubtful whether a Jaina teacher called Kālaka was in any way associated with the Śaka activities in Surāshṭra. We can only admit that such an association was believed in by the time the story had grown up around the hard core of facts. When it was given literary form it was evidently altered, expanded and historically vitiated, and thus later characters, such as Vairisiṁha and others, were incorporated in it.[58]

Thus the cumulative effect of the testimonies of the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* and Ptolemy indicates the presence of a Śaka colony on the lower Indus including Patalene probably under the hegemony of the Imperial Parthians and the activities of the Śakas or Scythians in Surāshṭra.[59]

B

In connection with our examination of the possibility of the advent of the Arsacids in territories on or near the Indus, we may refer to a passage in the *Cosmographia* by an anonymous author of Ravenna. Though this *Cosmographia* is a compilation of the 7th[60] or of the first half of the 8th century A.D.,[61] it has undoubtedly incorporated much earlier materials.[62] It expressly refers to earlier authorities like Castorius, Orosius, etc.,[63] and contains various descriptions of the Parthian empire,[64] which should be dated before its downfall in c. A.D. 227 (or 228-229 ?).[65]

The statement of the author of Ravenna, with which we are concerned, says that "adjoining Serica-India is the land which is called Parthia, which includes provinces, viz., Chorasmia, Socdiana, Sabeer, Parapanisidia, Ariana, Satraidia (and) Arachosia."[66]

It is quite clear from the *Cosmographia's* references to Parthia, including the one which locates the Gulf of Hyrcania to the north of Parthia,[67] that the realm in question is that of the Imperial Parthians and not of the Indo-Parthians. On the other hand, the absence of the names of the western regions from the list of provinces of the Parthian empire shows that the enumeration is not exhaustive, and so the word "includes" should here mean "includes *inter alia*". Hence the evidence of the inclusion of a province in the above extract, and not of its exclusion from the passage concerned, can help us in determining the date of the data contained therein.

It should, however, be remembered that passages in the *Cosmographia* relating to the Parthian dominions sometimes contradict one another,[68] and hence all of them may not refer to one and the same age. Moreover, we cannot deny the possibility of the data collected from different sources having been telescoped in some of the statements of the author of Ravenna.[69]

These impediments do not allow us to ascribe the above information on the Parthian territory to any particular period. Nevertheless, the passage concerned surely suggests that Paropanisidae, Arachosia, Satraidia, Sabeer, etc., were within the Parthian empire in one single period or at different times.

The land of the Paropanisadai embraced, as Ptolemy's evidence should suggest,[70] the territory lying along the eastern and southern sides of the Hindu-Kush, and extending to Aria (a large area centering round Herat)[71] and Arachosia (the Kandahar and Ghazni regions)[72] (see above pp. 8 and 28). One of its cities was Kaboura[73] (i.e., Kabul).[74] It must have included the Kabul valley or at least its upper portion.

Arachosia, as we have just noted, incorporated the

Kandahar and Ghazni regions. Dionysios Periegetes seems to have located the habitat of the Satraidans, (i.e., Satraidians) in a territory not far from the Indus and near the Aribes (river) and (the lands of the) Oreitans and the Arachotians.[75] According to Arrian, the Oreitai dwelt on the western bank of the Arabis,[76] obviously the same as the Aribes and identifiable with the modern Purali or the Hab river (see above pp. 30 and 35, n. 33). These topographical indications tend to place the country of the Satraidans or Satraidians in or near Baluchistan.

The name *Sabeer* reminds one of that of *Sovīra* or *Sauvīra*, which denoted in some early Indian sources the lower Indus area to the east of the Indus.[77] It should, however, be recorded here that another passage of the *Cosmographia* states that between this country of the Parthians and India flows the river Indus."[78] A probable explanation may be that the information on Sabeer and that on the Indus (as forming the boundary between Parthia and India) should be dated to two different periods.

C

A few other texts also extend the limits of the Parthian empire to the Indus.[79] But, like the *Cosmographia*, the dates of their data cannot be determined. Nevertheless, their testimonies and those of the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* and the *Cosmographia* and also the sources indicating the activities of Mithridates I in the east, surely suggest the possibility of the presence of the Arsacids on and near the Indus.

Such an inference supports the evidence of Agrippa alluding to the extension of the Parthian empire to the Indus, and tempts us to reconstruct, on the basis of available data, the history of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands. We should now make an attempt to accomplish that task.[80]

NOTES

1. The story is reconstructed here on the basis of a comparison of different published versions of the text. We have considered the earlier Prakrit and Sanskrit recensions, but not the later renderings in Gujarati or in mixed Sanskrit and Gujarati. For a description of different recensions, see N. Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, pp. 25-35 and S. M. Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story*, pt. I, pp. 1-32.
2. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, pp. 37, 71, 87, 93 and 98.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 102. In the *Niśītha-chūrṇī* the name of the sister is given as *Rūpavatī* (see below n. 9).
5. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, pp. 78, 102 ; etc.
6. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 89, v. 32. The *Pushpamālā* of Maladhāri Śrī Hemachandra-sūri also states that Kālaka went to the other side of the Sindhu called the "Saga bank" (*Sagakūlaṁ nāma Siṁdhuparakūlam*) (*S. M. Nawab, Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 27, v. 37).
8. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 99, v. 24. If the amendment *nadasya taṭam* is not acceptable, the required translation may be as follows. "Sūri went to the bank of the river of Sindhu (*country*), which was the bank of the western side (*of the Indus*)" (*Italics ours*).

9. *Niśītha-chūrṇī*, 10th *Uddeśa*.
10. Bhadreśvara, *Kathāvalī* (N. Brown, *Op. cit*, p. 102; S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 41).
11. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 102.
12. *Haya-Paḍiṇīya-Payāvo* version (N. Brown, *Op cit.*, p. 74, v. 52; see also S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 205, v. 52).
13. Bhadreśvara's *Kathāvalī* (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 103; S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 37).
14. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 41. See also the version of Vinayachandra-sūri (S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 97, v. 25).
15. According to the *Niśītha-chūrṇī*, the Sagakula or the Śaka family was established in Suraṭṭa (i.e., Surāshṭra) during the sojourn of Kālaka and the Shāhis in that region.
16. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 43, v. 65; p. 90, v. 63; p. 95, v. 31.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 43, vv. 65 and 68-70. Some versions refer to the establishment of the Śaka rule 135 years after the time of Vikramāditya (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 90, v. 64; p. 85, v. 32), but not to the institution of the Vikrama Era.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 87. N. Brown notes in one place that Bhāvadeva-sūri flourished in A.D. 1250 (*Ibid.*, p. 2). He states in another place (*Ibid.*, p. 87) that this Jaina author lived in *samvat* 1312 of the Vikrama Era (?) = A.D. 1254-55 or 1255-56.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
23. N. Brown considers Vairasiṁha in question to be Vairasiṁha II of the Paramāra family (*Ibid.*, p. 2). However, there is no reason why he should not be identified with Vairasiṁha I. N. Brown is probably wrong in thinking that Dhārā became the capital of the Paramāras in the time of Vairasiṁha II. It may have been so from an earlier period (D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 27).
24. D. C. Ganguly, *Op. cit.*, p. 30. Vairasiṁha I ruled from c. A.D. 836-837 to c. A.D. 863.

25. The *Hou Han-shu* indicates that Shen-tu was situated between Kao-fu (on the north-west ?), sea (on the south-west or south ?) and P'an-ch'i (on the east). It lay on a big river (*HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9-10). Kao-fu was the Kabul area, and the sea was obviously the Arabian Sea. Hence the river was probably the Sindhu or the Indus. In fact, the term *Shen-tu* is based on the name *Sindhu*. So a country called Sindhu was on the west of the lower Indus. Sindhu and Sauvīra, mentioned in the Junagardh inscription of Rudradāman I (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 44), were probably situated respectively on the west and the east of the lower Indus. See our article in *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV.

26. Ibn Khurdādba, who died in 300 A.H. or A.D. 912, distinguished Sind from Hind and took Bakar as the first place on the borders of Hind. It is clear from the context that this author located Bakar to the east of at least the main channel of the Mihrān, i.e., the Indus. He also included the kingdom of Balharā (i.e., the territory of a Rāshṭrakūṭa king having the title *Vallabha*), of Kāmrūn (Kāmarūpa), etc., within "India" (H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol. I, pp. 12-14), the name of which here probably means *Hind*. (For the identification of Bakar, see J. Abbot, *Sind—a Reinterpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, pp. 60-64).

Ibn Khurdādba apparently included in Hind only lands lying to the east of the Indus. One is left with the same impression after reading the *Kitābu-l Aqālīm* of Abū Ishāq Al-Istakhrī, written about the middle of the 10th century A.D. [H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 26-27 ; see also the map accompanying the *Ashkālu-l Bilād*, written in A.H. 589 or A.D. 1193 (*Ibid.*, p. 32)].

The *Chach-nāma*, the original Arabic version of which was written probably before 136 A.H. (A.D. 753), also reckoned Sind and Hind as separate entities, but made Alor the capital of both. This indicates that Hind or a part of it was situated near Sind of the *Chach-nāma*. Only a little more than a century prior to the date of the original version of the *Chach-nāma*, Sin-tu was described by Hsüan-tsang as including a land immediately to the west of the Indus (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 252). The word *Sind* may well be a corruption of the name *Sindhu* (i.e., *Sin-tu*). The term *Hind*, within the territorial limits of which Ibn Khurdādba includes areas lying to the east of the Indus, may also denote in the *Chach-nāma* at least some parts of the same regions (H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 136 and 138).

27. N. Brown thinks that the Jaina traditions testify to the existence of the three Kālakas—one died in the year 376 of the Vīra Era, the second flourished (perhaps became a sūri) in the year 453 of that era, and the third was living in the year 993 of the same reckoning (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 7).
28. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
29, *Ibid.*
30. The earliest known manuscript of the version of Dharmaprabha-sūri is dated in *samvat* 1502 (*Ibid.*, p. 93).
31. Merutuṅga composed the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* in *samvat* 1367 (*JBBRAS*, 1867-70, *os*, vol. IX, p. 147).
32. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
33 For different theories about the epoch of the Vīra Era, see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 213, f. n. 3. See also *JBBRAS*, 1867-70, *os*, vol. IX, p. 147.
34. In this connection see also B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I, p. 90, f. n. 43.
35. *Strabo*, XIV, 1, 33 ; *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 55 ; etc. See above p. 36, n. 40.
36. *JIH*, 1936, vol. XII, p. 18.
37. *JBORS*, 1930, vol. XVI, p. 233. N. Brown's identification of Hindukadeśa with the lower Indus country (*Op. cit.*, p. 57) is not entirely correct, for the latter includes *inter alia* territories lying even to the west of the Indus.

S. Konow was also wrong when he suggested that Hindukadeśa was the same as Shen-tu of the *Hou Han-shu*.

(*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXVII and LXVIII). Hindukadeśa was situated on the east of the Indus, whereas Shen-tu incorporated some regions to the west of that river.

38. E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. II, pp. 546-547.
39. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 55-61.
40. Patalene was the region of the Indus delta (see above p. 36, n. 40). Syrastrene of Ptolemy probably included the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north and also a part of the coastal area to the east of the Indus (see *Ibid.*). The name *Sabieria* may be connected with *Sovīra*, i.e., *Sauvīra*. Sauvīra was a country on the eastern side of the lower Indus (*SI*, p. 172, f.n. 1 ; see also our article in *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV). If the reading *Aberia* is acceptable, it may perhaps be related to the name of a habitat of the Ābhīras (McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 140 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 235). Ptolemy locates Aberia above Patalene (*Ptolemy*, VII, I, 55), and apparently on both sides of the Indus.

Banagara (or Kanagara ?) (= *Vanagara*<*Vannagara* <*Varṇanagara* ?), a town of Indo-Scythia (VII, I, 56), may be placed in the district of Bannu (*Vanṇanagara*<*Varṇa-nagara*)on the west of Indus. A. Stein has located Embolima, another town of Indo-Scythia (VII, I, 57), at Kabalgram, "where the river draining the wide and fertile valley of Pūran joins the Indus" (A Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Suāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, *MASI*, no. 42, p. 71). Asigrama of Indo-Scythia (VII, 1. 57) is identified with Asgram, situated at a distance of about two miles to the west of the Indus just outside the extreme north-eastern corner of the Peshawar district (*BSOAS*, 1952, vol. XIV, p. 83).

These places in the extreme north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent were never within the geographical limits of Patalene (the Indus delta), or Syrastrene (Surāshṭra),or Sauvīra. Nor the Ābhīras are known to have ever occupied simultaneously the region immediately above the Indus delta and also the localities of North-Western India.

It appears that some towns of Indo-Scythia were outside the natural limits of its provinces enumerated by Ptolemy. In this connection see W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 236 f.

41. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I, appendix II ; Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 7-15.
42. *Periplus*, sec. 38.
43. E. H. Bunbury, *Op cit*, vol. II, p. 548 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 231 f ; etc.
44. The Sakai or Sacae, referred to by Strabo and described by him as Scythians (XI, 8, 2), were obviously the Śakas. It may be mentioned here that certain classical sources suggest that though the Śakas were Scythians, all Scythians were not Śakas (*Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, July, 1967, vol. I, no. I, p. 5).
45. The testimony of Ptolemy suggests that the Śakas (Scythians) were already on the lower Indus long before the date of his information on Indo-Scythia. This information was incorporated in his *Geography*, composed in the second or the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. Thus the advent of the Śakas in the territory concerned might have taken place even before the dawn of the Christian Era. There is no evidence of a Śaka migration to the lower Indus area in the period of the Achaemenids of Persia. So the Arsacid dynasty of the East, which ruled from c. 250 B.C. to c. A.D. 227 (or A.D. 228-229 ?), after ousting the Greek successors of the Achaemenids and Alexander (*Parthia*, pp. 9 f and 270), witnessed the first Śaka activities in the lower Indus country. It may be added here that there is no reliable source to prove the existence of a Śaka colony in that zone in the days of the Sassanids, who overthrew the Arsacids.
46. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. 34 f. In this connection see also *PIHC*, 1950, pp. 39-40.
47. See also S. Konow's remarks in *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XXVII.

48. Legends on some copper coins from Ujjain and Vidiśā refer to *Hamugama*, *Valāka*, *Mahu*, *Dāsa* and *Sauma* K. D. Bajpai thinks that the palaeographic features of the coin-legends do not place the pieces after 100 B.C., and that these names indicate that the persons concerned were Śakas. This evidence shows, according to K. D. Bajpai, that in the 1st and the 2nd centuries B.C., Western Malwa was under some Śaka chiefs (*JNSI*, 1966, vol. XXVIII, pp. 46-50). Such an interpretation strengthens the testimony of the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*. It must, however, be conceded that the names of the rulers in question cannot by themselves prove that they were of Śaka origin and not of some other non-Aryan descent.

49. *JBORS*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp. 234 f.

50. *IA*, 1873, vol. II, pp. 362-363 ; *JBORS*, 1930, vol. XVI, p. 234.

51. *JBBRAS*, 1867-70, *os*, vol. IX, p. 148.

52. See also A. Cunningham, *NC*, 1888, p. 232.

53. See *IA*, 1873, vol. II, pp. 362-363, where Prakrit *gāthās* from the works of Merutuṅga, Dharmasāgara and Jayavijayagaṇi are quoted.

54. *Śrīmad-Bhadravāhusvāmi-praṇīta-Niryuktiyukta-bhāshya-kalita-śrīmad-Haribhadrasūriśekhara-sūttritavṛitti-parivṛitaṁ Śrīmad=Āvaśyakasūtrasy=ottarārdhaṁ, pūrvabhāga* (edited by the Āgamodaya Samiti), fols. 712-713.

55. The name *Nahapāna* itself could be easily corrupted in the Indian sources into *Nahavāhana, Nabhavāhana*, etc.

56. See B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I, ch. IV. In this connection see also *PIHC*, 1950, pp. 39-40.

57. This critical appraisal of the contents of the Kālaka story indicates that S. K. Chattopadhyaya is wrong in thinking that the legend is wholly unhistorical (S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, p. 56).

58. We must add here that there is no evidence suggesting the activities of Śaka-Scythians of the lower Indus region, where Sagakula was situated, in the Punjab area in the 1st century B.C. The theory of E. J. Rapson (*CHI*, vol. I,

p. 568), S. Konow (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXXI-XXXII), W. W. Tarn (*Op. cit.*, p. 232), J. Marshall (*Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 44-45), etc., advocate such activities and connect Scytho-Parthian or Śaka Maues with them. But such a theory lacks proper foundation (see above pp. 20-21).

59. This inference receives further support if one accepts the translation furnished above in n. 8. Sindhu(deśa), to which country Kālaka went and where he met the Shāhi concerned, was on the lower Indus (see above n. 25).

60. G. Coedès (editor), *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins Relatifs a l'extrème-Orient*, p. 142.

61. J. Schnetz, *Ravennas Anonymus* : *Cosmographia*, p. III.

62. Kubischek suggests that the *Cosmographia* of Ravenna and such earlier works as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerari Antonini* were all ultimately based on one original map of the earth (*Pauly*, vol. X, no. 2, col. 21117). This view is not fully acceptable, as each of these three treatises has certain features which are not shared by the other two. Nevertheless, the *Cosmographia's* descriptions of the Parthian empire, known to have been defunct in c. A.D. 227 (or 228-229 ?), indicate that it contains earlier materials.

63. *Cosmographia*, II, 2, 2 ; II, 3, 1 ; II, 4, 2-3 ; etc.

64. *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1-3 ; II, 8, 1 ; etc.

65. *Parthia*, p. 269 and f.n. 135.

66. *Cosmographia*, II, 4, 1. Here *Ariana* is probably a mistake for *Aria*.

67. See above n. 31.

68. Compare *Cosmographia*, II, 4, 1, which incorporates Chorasmia and Sogdiana within the Parthian dominions, with *Cosmographia*, II, 8, 1-2, where the description of Hyrcania and its provinces leaves little room for extending the Parthian empire, through Hyrcania and thereabouts, to Chorasmia.

69. This characteristic is not peculiar to the writing of the author of the *Cosmographia*, and can be noticed also in some other classical texts. For an example we can cite Ptolemy's account of Bactria (VI, II, 1f), which seems to

have been based on sources of different periods (see W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 231-232).

70. *Ptolemy*, VI, 18, 1f.
71. *Ibid.*, VI, 18, 1 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 308-309.
72. W. H. Schoff, *The Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax*, p. 34 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 317 ; *NC*, 1890, p. 106 ; see also W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 94.
73. *Ptolemy*, VI, 18, 5.
74. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 312.
75. Dionysios Periegetes, *Orbis Deseriptio*, 11. 1086 f.
76 Arrian, *Anabaseos Alexandrou*, V1, 21-22.
77. See our article in *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV.
78. *Cosmographia*, II, 4, 3.
79. *His. Ad. Pag.*, I, 2, 17-19 ; *Patrologia Latina* (Migne edition), 82, 497 ; etc. See above pp. 16-17.
80. In this connection see also *Parthia*, pp. 54-69.

CHAPTER V

THE ARSACIDS IN THE INDIAN BORDERLANDS

A

The activities of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands probably began during the reign of Mithridates I (c. 174—138/37 B.C.). No doubt, attempts at such an expansion of power were in the logic of their struggle against their bitter foes, the Greeks, who were contemporary masters of the territories in question. Nevertheless, certain data may indicate also other motives behind the eastern thrust of the Imperial Parthians.

In fact, the topographical importance of a part of the area under consideration had been realised by a Persian King long before Mithridates I. Darius I conquered India, which, according to Herodotus' description, lay (mostly ?) on the lower Indus and stretched down to the sea.[1] The Achaemenian sovereign, desirous of knowing the area where the Indus debouched into the sea, had sent a naval expedition, which sailed down the river to the sea and thence westward on the ocean to a particular place.[2] Then "Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea."[3]

It is obvious that Darius I had annexed India to the Achaemenid empire to get an outlet to the Arabian Sea. By the period of the Parthians the knowledge of ocean and sea-routes was much improved.

Agatharchides observed in the second half of the 2nd century B.C.[4] that to the Fortunate Islands (modern Socotra)[5] "merchant ships go from everywhere, especially from Potana (Pottolis), which was founded by Alexander near (or on) the river Indus."[6] Nearchus, a companion of Alexander, had voyaged from a port on the Indus and then along the sea-coast, including that of Harmozeia (Ormuz), to *inter alia* the mouth of the Euphrates.[7] The use of this sea route by contemporary navigators is suggested by the fact that Nearchus was able to get a pilot who knew the coast between the river Amanis in Harmozeia and the Tigris.[8] Certain other data indicate the existence of a maritime trade route from the lower Indus area to Harmozeia or Ormuz, and thence through the Persian Gulf to the Tigris and, up the river, to Seleucia.[9]

It is not impossible that Seleucia was connected with the great highway which Pliny traced, probably mainly on the authority of Alexander's companions,[10] from the Caspian Gates and through Hecatompylos, Alexandria of the Arii (Herat), the city of the Drangae (in Seistan), the town of the Arachosii (Alexandria in the Kandahar area ?), Hortospana (Kabul), and Peucolatis (Charsada), to Taxilla (Taxila) and other cities.[11] Another passage of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* speaks of the distance between the Caspian Gates and the extreme point of Patala (the Indus delta),[12] and thereby suggests that routes from the Caspian Gates ran into the lower Indus area.[13] From the latter region one could approach the land of the Arachosii (including Kandahar and Ghazni), lying on the great highway mentioned by Pliny, through the Bolan Pass or the Mula Pass.[14] The route, once followed by Alexander from Patala and through *inter alia* Gedrosia, Persipolis and Susa to Babylon,[15] could well have been connected in the Parthian age with Seleucia on the Tigris.[16]

Thus the lower Indus area was well connected, through land and sea-routes, with the outside world including Seleucia, the great emporium.[17] That the lower Indus region participated in international trade is indicated by the report of Chang Ch'ien, referring to events of c. 130-129 B.C.[18] He saw in Ta-hsia cloth made in the province of Shu and bought by the merchants of Ta-hsia in the markets of Shen-tu.[19] We have shown elsewhere, on the basis of the testimonies of the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, the *Hou Han-shu* and the *Pei-shih*, that Ta-hsia was the name of the land comprising Wakhan, Badakshan, Chitral, Kafiristan (?) and the region lying between those territories in North-Eastern Afghanistan.[20] Shen-tu was located on the lower Indus.[21]

The Parthian subjects themselves were also much interested in commerce. Chang Ch'ien stated that merchants of An-hsi (the Arsacid empire)[22] "travel by carts or boats to neighbouring countries, sometimes journeying several thousand li square."[23]

The *Hou Han-shu*, which is of course posterior to the period of Mithridates I, refers to the eagerness of An-hsi to carry on very profitable trade with China,[24] and also speaks of An-hsi's commercial transactions with Ta-ch'in[25] (the Roman Orient).[26] Another later text, the *Vita Apollonii*, indicates that a toll-taking system was established along the frontier of the Parthian empire and that all commodities liable to duty that entered the country was registered in a book at the time of entry by the custom-house officer.[27] Though these data are culled from sources later than the time of Mithridates I, the above-quoted information of Chang Ch'ien, gathered almost immediately after the reign of Mithridates I (c. 171—138/137 B.C.), perhaps indicates that the Arsacids were aware of the importance of trade from the early period of their rule.[28]

The heavy output of the mint of Seleucia between c. 175 and 150 B.C.[29] has been interpreted as alluding to the outburst of its commercial prosperity.[30] So at least by 141 B.C., when Mithridates I conquered Seleucia,[31] he must have comprehended the key-role played by Seleucia and her trading partners in the growth of wealth in the Orient.

One such trading market was, as indicated above, in the lower Indus zone,—an area the topographical importance of which had been realised by a Persian king long before Mithridates I. Hence it is not unlikely that his invasions of the lower Indus region and thereabouts was motivated not only by the desire to conquer his foes, but also by certain economic considerations.

B

The route followed by Mithridates I in his expedition to the Indian borderlands is not clearly indicated in any source. We may, however, refer here to a few pieces of information supplied by classical texts which are likely to be interpreted to allude to his activities in or near the regions in question. If such interpretations are acceptable, they may throw some light on Mithridates I's track to Arachosia and the Indus.

According to Justin, Mithridates (I) added the territories of several peoples to the Parthian empire, which under him stretched from the Mount Caucasus to the river Euphrates.[32] If, as suggested, the Caucasus is identical with the Hindu-Kush,[33] we may have to admit the possibility of the Parthian occupation of Bactria between the latter mountain and the regions which were definitely under Mithridates I.[34] But, as we have already noted, it is not at all certain whether this Caucasus was the same as the Hindu-Kush[35] (see above pp. 34-35, n. 26).

Strabo refers in one passage to the Parthian conquests from Eucratides of the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva of Bactriana,[36] and speaks in another place of the Parthian acquisition of a part of Bactriana from Eucratides and his followers prior to taking a portion of the same country from the Scythians.[37] This Eucratides, as it appears from the contexts of Strabo's statements, was Eucratides I.[38] According to Justin, Mithridates of Parthia and Eucratides of Bactria, identifiable respectively with Mithridates I and Eucratides I,[39] began to reign simultaneously.[40] Hence it may be argued that Mithridates I probably wrested a part of Bactriana from Eucratides I.

We, however, like to point out that these satrapies may have been outside Bactria proper, though within the kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks. In fact, only such an interpretation can reconcile Strabo's observations with his claim that Bactriana of the Greeks was annexed by some Scythian nomadic peoples.[41] Moreover, if we accept W. W. Tarn's emendation of the names of the satrapies as *Aspiones* (or *Aspionus*) *Tapuria* and *Traxiane* and support their suggested locations respectively in Tapuri about the Artek river and in an area in the Kasaf-rud valley (and also in the territory extending upwards),[42] then the regions in question should have been to the west of Merv and Herat. Antiochia Margiana and Alexandria of the Arii, identifiable with modern Merv and Herat respectively,[43] are noted in classical sources as situated respectively to the west and south (and/or west) of Bactriana.[44] So the satrapies concerned could not have been normally within the geographical limits of Bactria.[45]

Thus the statements in question cannot prove that Bactria proper was annexed to the Arsacid empire during the reign of Mithridates I.[46] The data furnished by Strabo, however, indicate the establishment of the Parthian authority over parts of the kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks, situated perhaps not far from Merv and Herat. This inference may tempt one to suggest that Mithridates I probably followed the great route conneting Alexandria of the Arii (Herat) and the city of the Drangae (in Seistan) with Arachosia. Theories have indeed been advanced, though without definite grounds, suggesting his authority over the regions of Herat and Seistan.[47]

C

Whatever route Mithridates I may have traversed, it seems reasonable to infer from the arguments furnished by us in Chapter III that he conquered at least a part of Arachosia from the Greeks. From the same power he snatched away an area on the lower Indus, perhaps including Patalene (see above pp. 31-32). He could have approached the lower Indus country through, *inter alia*, the Mula Pass or the Bolan Pass.

It is not certain whether Mithridates I occupied all coastal possessions of the Greeks including Sigerdis and Saraostos (see above p. 31). W. W. Tarn has suggested the extension of his rule to Gedrosia on the basis of the identification of the Hydaspes of a statement of Orosius (on his conquests) with the Purali river in Southern Baluchistan.[48] We have already pointed out that the Hydaspes in question cannot be convincingly identified with the Purali (see above p. 30).

Thus the extent and perhaps also the nature of Mithridates I's rule in the Indian borderlands remain, at least in the present state of our knowledge, very vague.[49] Nevertheless, there is no gainsaying the fact of the arrival of the Arsacids in Arachosia and the lower Indus country during the reign of Mithridates I.

D

The Parthian hegemony in the lower Indus valley, established by Mithridates I, might not have lasted long, at least in the first instance. According to the calculations preserved in the *Shih-chi*, Chang Ch'ien

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sent envoys to the Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta-hsia, An-hsi, Shen-tu, etc., when roughly four years had elapsed after the sixth year of Yuan So.[50] Moreover, the testimonies of the same work and also of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* show that roughly two years after this incident further ambassadors were sent to An-hsi, Shen-tu, etc.[51] It appears that in about the tenth and the twelfth years of the period of Yuan So, which began in December, 129 – January, 128 B.C.,[52] An-hsi (or the Arsacid empire) and Shen-tu (including a part of the lower Indus country) were separate political entities. This may indicate, though it does not prove,[53] the absence of the Arsacid rule from the lower Indus valley in c. 119 B.C. and c. 117 B.C.

The problem of the continuation of the Parthian influence in the other province of Mithridates I in the Indian borderlands, viz., Arachosia, may be examined in the light of the evidence of a few classes of Indo-Greek coins. We have already demonstrated that the standing figure of Heracles, naked and beardless, on a group of coins of Mithridates I alludes to his conquest of at least a part of Arachosia (see above pp. 27f). Similar device also appears on several pieces of the Indo-Greek rulers Lysias and Zoilus[54] (see above pp. 27-28 and pl. II, nos. 4 and 6), generally distinguished as Zoilus I.[55] This numismatic evidence indicates their authority over at least a part of Arachosia.[56]

On some coins of Zoilus (I) naked and beardless Heracles is shown as being crowned with a wreath by Nike or Victory standing on his left shoulder[57] (pl. II. no. 9). The appearance of Nike perhaps suggests the conquest of at least a part of Arachosia, where coins bearing the standing figure of Heracles had been in circulation.

It is interesting to note, in this context, that copper coins of Zoilus (I) bear on the obverse the head of Heracles and on the reverse (Heracles') club and a bow in a case, encircled by a wreath of ivy[58] (pl. II, no. 10). The 'bow-in-case' device is not noticeable on species of any other Indo-Greek ruler,[59] but is known to have been used by a few Arsacid sovereigns including Mithridates I, Mithridates II, Sinatruces, Phraates III and Orodes I[60] (pl. II, nos. 11-15). The use of this essentially Parthian coin-type, in conjunction with the devices of the head and the club of Heracles, may then reinforce the above suggestion regarding the success of Zoilus I against the Arsacids.

The suggested dates for Zoilus I[61] tend to place him earlier than the reign of Mithridates II (c. 123-88/87 B.C.),[62] though not before the period of Mithridates I (c. 171-138/137 B.C.).[63] Hence it seems logical to infer from the above premises that Zoilus I recovered from the Arsacids at least a part of Arachosia sometime between its conquest by Mithridates I (in c. 139-138 B.C.) (see above p. 29) and the rule of Mithridates II (c. 123-88/87 B.C.).

Thus we may hold, at least in the present state of our knowledge, that Arachosia was lost by the Arsacids to the Indo-Greeks. We, however, do not know the political force or forces responsible for the liquidation of the Arsacid authority in the lower Indus country, even if it was a fact.

E

Another factor may also have precipitated the eclipse of the Arsacid power in the Indian borderlands. The avalanche of Scythian invasions threatened to crush the civilised world of the Greeks and the Arsacids.

Strabo states that "the best known of the (*Scythian*) nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tokharoi and Sakarauloi, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes river that adjoins that of the Sakai and the Sogdianoi and was occupied by the Sakai"[64] (*Italics ours*). It is clear from the context of Strabo's statement that these peoples were assumed to have been Scythian. Strabo claims that these nomads were responsible for the end of the Greek rule in Bactria. He, however, does not categorically state whether they invaded that territory jointly or separately.

The Tokharoi or Tochari have already been connected with the Yüeh-chih of Chinese sources.[65] According to Chang Ch'ien's information, datable to c. 130-129 B.C.,[66] the Yüeh-chih subjugated Ta-hsia by that date.[67] The name *Ta-hsia* denoted, as noted above, modern Wakhan, Badakshan, Chitral, Kafiristan (?) and the region lying between those territories.[68] Hence Ta-hsia may have embraced the eastern part of Bactria as described by Ptolemy.[69]

The other Scythian tribes mentioned by Strabo, viz., Asioi, the Pasianoi, and the Sakarauloi, may have invaded jointly or separately Western Bactria around the city of Bactra. Such an inference receives support from the Prologus XLI of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Trogus, which states "how the kingdom and government were constituted among the Bactrians by their king Diodotus ; (*and*) afterwards, during whose (*i.e., the Bactrians'* ?) rule, the Scythian peoples, the Saraucae and the Asiani, occupied (or overcame) (the city of) Bactra (or the Bactrans) and Sogdiana (or the Sogdians)"[70] (*Italics ours*). Since at least the name of the Asioi [*Asi*+*oi* (inflexion)] can be identified with that of the Asiani [*Asi*+*an* (suffix)+*i* (inflexion)],[71] both Strabo and Trogus probably referred to one and the same invasion or to one and the same series of invasions.

Certain sources indicate that the Scythian movements in the Parthian territory began by c. 130 B.C.[72] As Western Bactria lay almost between Parthia and Eastern Bactria or Ta-hsia, occupied by the Yüeh-chih-Tokharians by c. 130-129 B.C., there should be no objection to any theory suggesting the Scythian invasion or invasions of Western Bactria about the same time.[73] The absence of any reference to P'u-t'iao (denoting Bactria or at least its western area)[74] in Chang Ch'ien's report, which describes at length An-hsi (Parthia) and Ta-hsia (Eastern Bactria), suggests that by the date of his information, i.e., 130-29 B.C., the (Hellenic) kingdom of Western Bactria had been virtually eclipsed and the area concerned was in turmoil.

The nomadic invasion or invasions must have also seriously affected the Parthian empire. During the reign of Phraates II (c. 138/37-128 B.C.),[75] the successor of Mithridates I, "the Scythians began to ravage the borders of Parthia,"[76] obviously the eastern borders.[77] Phraates (II) himself was killed in fighting against them.[78]

The tottering Parthian empire could not possibly continue to have any effective control over its far-away eastern provinces like Arachosia and the lower Indus region. Such a condition either encouraged these areas to secede from the empire or prevented the Arsacids to reconquer them after the secession or both.

F

Peace seems to have returned by c. 119 B.C., when Chang Ch'ien sent the first Chinese envoy to An-hsi.[79] According to the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, the ambassador was received in great pomp by a Parthian general at the eastern border of An-hsi.[80] This would have been hardly possible if Eastern Parthia was still being disturbed by the Scythians.

Strabo, who wrote his *Geographikon* in c. 7 B.C. and revised it even in c. A.D. 18,[81] stated, as noted above, that the Parthians took a part of Bactriana having forced the Scythians, and still earlier Eucratides and his followers, to yield to them.[82]

Of the Parthian monarchs before the date of Strabo's work, only Mithridates II is known to have been successful against the Scythians.[83] Hence a part of the above passage of Strabo probably alludes to his reign. In fact, Justin, on the authority of Trogus, ascribes to the same king the credit of conquering the Scythians and of adding many "new provinces" to the Parthian empire.[84] One such new province may have been Western Bactria, acquired from the Scythians. The date of this achievement may be placed, in the light of the above inferences, in or before c. 119 B.C.[85]

The theory of Mithridates II's success in Western Bactria perhaps implies his authority over the regions of Merv and Herat.[86] It is also not impossible that Sakastan or Seistan was within the zone of his influence.[87] But definite proof in support of any of these hypotheses is lacking.[88] So also we do not know whether he made any military exploit in the Indian borderlands.[89]

G

A correct assessment of the success of Mithridates II and his successors in the regions in question depends, to a great extent, on a proper evaluation of the data concerning the chronology of the end of the Greek rule and also the nature as well as the extent of the influence of the Scytho-Parthian chiefs in those areas.

Fresh light on the first problem has been thrown by a hoard of coins found at Qunduz in the province of Kataghan in Afghanistan.[90] All the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins from this find bear only Greek inscriptions and are issued on Attic standard. Hence they were meant for circulation in the country to the north of the Hindu-Kush, and not for currency in North-Western India or in an area to the south or south-east of that mountain, which produced species of the Indo-Greek rulers, bearing both Greek and Indian legends and struck, at least from the time of Heliocles, on a different weight standard.[91] The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers, represented in this hoard, are Diodotus, Euthydemus I,

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Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Antimachus, Agathocles, Eucratides I, Plato, Eucratides II, Demetrius II, Heliocles, Lysias, Theophilus, Antialcidas, Amyntas, Archebius, Philoxenus and Hermaeus.[92] Of these, at least eleven should be placed after Eucratides I, who, as it appears from the evidence of Justin, began to reign about the time of Mithridates' accession to the Parthian throne.[93] Since this Mithridates, to be identified with Mithridates I, is known to have ruled from c. 171 to 138/37 B.C.,[94] the last of these eleven kings[95] cannot be placed much before c. 100 B.C. This conclusion may be adhered to even after considering the probability that some of these monarchs might have been contemporaries. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the Greeks, sandwiched between the Yüeh-chih dominated Ta-hsia and the aggrandising Parthian empire, could have survived long in Bactria after c. 119 B.C.[96] (i.e., the year by which the Arsacids had conquered Western Bactria).

A more definite date for one of these Indo-Greek kings, viz., Hermaeus, may be postulated with the help of our knowledge of the history of the country of the Paropamisadae or Paropanisadai. It embraced, as indicated by the evidence of Ptolemy,[97] the territory lying along the south-eastern side of the Hindu-Kush and extending up to Aria (a large area around Herat) and Arachosia (including Kandahar and Ghazni) (see above pp. 8 and 28). It must have within its limits the Kabul valley or at least its upper portion including the Kabul region (see above p. 50).

Numerous coins bearing the name of Hermaeus have been discovered in the country of the Paropamisadae in Eastern Afghanistan (particularly in the Kabul area and thereabouts) and also in the Rawalpindi district in the north-western frontier zone of modern Pakistan (notably from the Peshawar-Charsadda region).[98] Many of these pieces, however, are of very crude workmanship and have on the obverse the word *STEROSSY* in place of *SOTEROS* on the coins of good style and fabric. Obviously, a die-cutter of a pure Greek mint could not have committed such a silly mistake. Hence these coins with blundered legends were taken by E. J. Rapson, J. Marshall and some others[99] as imitations of genuine species of Hermaeus and as having been minted after the end of his rule in these territories.[100] It is also significant that the imitations were made in an area where Greek rulers had minted coins in their respective names. This indicates that the Greek rule became ineffective there immediately after his reign. The loss of the land of the Paropamisadae seems to have been permanent, whereas in Gandhāra the Hellenic rule may have been temporarily revived later.[101]

We have already indicated that the last of the monarchs represented in the Qunduz hoard did not probably begin to rule long after, c. 119 B. C. His reign might have commenced even earlier. So Hermaeus, who is also represented in this hoard and is not known to have reigned for a very long period, might not have continued to be in power after the first quarter of the 1st century B. C.

Certain septs of Scytho-Parthian chiefs are known to have been present in the Indian borderlands in the 1st century B. C.[102] We have already shown that Parthian or Scytho-Parthian Vonones and his associates never occupied the upper Kabul valley of the country of the Paropamisadae (see above p. 34). There is also nothing to prove that either Maues or the group of Azes I ever held that territory (see Appendices I and III).

On the other hand, a passage of Strabo indicates the authority of the Imperial Parthians over at least an area of that land. It states that "somewhere in the neighbourhood of these parts of the country that borders on India lies Chaarene ; and this, of all the countries subject to the Parthians, lies closest to India. It is distant from Ariana, through the land of the Arachoti and the above mentioned mountaineous country, 19000 stadia".[103] A perusal of the section of Strabo's *Geographikon*, where this statement occurs, makes it abundantly clear that it refers to the country of the Paropomisadae.[104] It is also apparent from the context that by the expression "Parthians" Strabo meant the Imperial Parthians or the Arsacids.[105] And since, as we have noted above, Strabo compiled his *Geographikon* in c. 7 B.C. and revised it even in c. A.D. 18, the Arsacid empire had been extended to the land of the Paropamisadae by either of these dates. In this connection we may refer to a section of the *Cosmographia* by an anonymous author of Ravenna, even though the information contained therein cannot be precisely dated. It explicitly includes Parapanisidia (i.e., the land of the Parapanisidae or Paropamisadae) within Parthia (see above p. 49).

The Arsacid rule in the Kabul area itself is proved by the evidence of the *Hou Han-shu*. It states that "the country of Kao-fu, on the south-west of the Great Yüeh-chih, is also a large country....They excel in commerce, and internally they are very wealthy. Their allegiance has never been constant : the three countries of T'ien-chu, Chi-pin and An-hsi had possessed it when they were strong, and had lost it when they were weak. It lastly belonged to An-hsi and the Yüeh-chih obtained Kao-fu only after they had defeated An-hsi".[106] Kao-fu included the territory around Kabul.[107] An-hsi, as described in the 118th chapter of *Hou Han-shu*[108] (where the above passage occurs), must be identified with the Arsacid empire[109] and not with any kingdom of an Indo-Parthian or Scytho-Parthian ruler.[110]

It appears that the Greek rule ended in the land of the Paropamisadae by about the first quarter of the 1st century B. C. At least a part of the same country was conquered by the Yüeh-chih from the Arsacids. So their rule in this territory should be assigned to a certain period between the downfall of the Greeks and the advent of the Yüeh-chih. And since the authority of no other power over the zone in question can be dated to the 1st century B. C., we should assume, at least in the present state of our knowledge, that in the land concerned the Greeks were succeeded by the Arsacids.

We can here cite a statement of Justin, to which attention of scholars was drawn long ago by F. W. Thomas.[111] Justin states that "on the other hand, the Bactrians (*i.e., the Bactrian Greeks*), by different (or diverse) throwing to and fro (*i.e., continual*) wars, lost not only (*their*) royal government (*i.e., kingdom*), but also their liberty, since fatigued in wars of (*i.e., against*) the Sogdians and the Arachosians and the Drangians and the Arians and the Indians, (*they were*) at last subdued (or oppressed or overthrown), as if without blood (*i.e., without energy*), by the more inefficient (or weaker) Parthians"[112] (*Italics ours*). Since Strabo gives to the Scythian nomadic peoples the credit of conquering Bactria from the Greeks (see above p. 70), Justin's passage in question should be interpreted to indicate the overthrow of the last "Bactrian" Greek king outside Bactria. This condition agrees admirably with the known history of the Greek monarch Hermaeus. He ruled in Bactria and so could be called Bactrian. He reigned also in the Kabul area, later incorporated in the Arsacid or the Parthian empire.[113] If this explanation is acceptable, Justin's testimony strikingly corroborates our hypothesis.

We are not sure whether the commercial prosperity of the Kabul region, as indicated by the *Hou Han-shu*,[114] attracted the greedy eyes of the Arsacids, who were aware of the importance of trade.[115] It is, however, certain that they knew that the encroachment on the land of the Paropamisadae would be detrimental to the interest of their arch enemies, the Greeks.

The duration of the Arsacid rule in that territory cannot be precisely dated. Nevertheless, we can discuss in this connection the evidence of a class of coins.

Excavations at Begram in the upper Kabul valley have yielded five coins which are either drachms of Orodes II or imitations thereof, restruck on the obverse by a helmeted bust (Pl. III, no.1), and also one piece of Phraates IV (c. 38-2 B.C.), counter-struck by another bust[116] (Pl. III, no, 2). To these species may be related some pieces of unknown provenances, even though these are generally acquired from Afghan dealers and are made known from collections composed mainly of coins found in India and its borderlands.[117] These are (a) drachms of Sinatruces (76/75 B.C.-70 or 69 B.C.), overstruck on the obverse by a bust and the Greek inscription *OTANNES* (Pl. III, no. 3), (b) drachms of Phraates III (70 or 69-58/57 B.C.), re-struck on the obverse by a bust and again the Greek inscription *OTANNES* (Pl. III, no. 4), (c) at least one imitation (?) of a type of a drachm of Phraates III, overstruck by another bust (Pl. III, no. 5), and (d) drachms (including imitations of those of Phraates IV) carrying an additional bust punched (?) on the obverse of each[118] (Pl. III, no. 6).

A. Simonetta wants to place this group of species in Aria.[119] However, since the only recorded provenance is Begram, we may be tempted to locate these coins in the Kabul valley.[120] This hypothesis receives some corroboration from the fact that the weight of several imitations (?) included in this class approximates to the so-called Indo-Greek weight standard used in mints to the south (-east or-west) of the Hindu-Kush.[121]

It should also be noted that all these coins, whether genuine or imitations, are related to the Imperial

Parthian coinage. Each of them is re-struck by a bust. This has been done in such a way so as not to destroy the face of the emperor. These features mark out the coins as forming a distinct group of official issues. If the imitations were done unofficially the appearance of an additional bust on each of them cannot be explained. Again, the fact that none of the counter-struck faces destroys the original bust surely indicates that the counter-strikers were not enemies of the Imperial Parthians. They (i.e., the counter-strikers) may have stamped the 'bust' device on the Arsacid coins entering their territory by way of trade and commerce. It is also possible that the persons concerned were vassals of the Arsacids and that they overstruck the coins of their overlords and sometimes, when the supply of Imperial coins was short, counter-marked locally made coins, which were either imitations or official issues of crude workmanship. We should prefer the second suggestion, if this group can be located in the Kabul valley, at least a part of which was for some time under the Arsacids. As a vassal would surely counter-strike the coins of his contemporary overlord rather than those of a predecessor, the series in question should have started in the days of Sinatruces. This means that by the time of Sinatruces (76/75—70 or 69 B.C.)[122] at least the upper Kabul valley of the land of the Paropamisadae passed under the rule of the Imperial Parthians, and that it continued to be so up to sometime of the reign of Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.).[123]

We, however, do not want to lay too much stress on this numismatic evidence. The number of coins unearthed at Begram is not sufficient to prove the Arsacid rule in the Kabul valley from the days of Sinatruces to the reign of Phraates IV. The coins found there may well have been drifts.[124] So our theory of the hegemony of the Imperial Parthians in the land of the Paropamisadae rests on literary testimonies.

H

Among the numismatic sources indicating the presence of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands, another class of species may be more important than the counter-struck pieces discussed above.

A few copper coins bear on the obverse the figure of a horse, prancing to right, and on the reverse a stringed bow in a case bordered by reels and pellets set between two concentric squares. The Greek legend on the obverse is *Arsakou Basileos Theou*[125] (pl. III, no. 7).

The name *Arsakes* (>*Arsakou*) associates, *prima facie*, this series with the Imperial Parthian coinage. In fact, four (or five) Arsacid sovereigns (Mithridates I (?), Mithridates II, Sinatruces, Phraates III and Orodes II) used both 'prancing horse' and 'stringed bow-in-case' coin-types.[126] On the other hand, none of the Bactrian Greek or Indo-Greek or Scytho-Parthian rulers, excepting Maues, [127] is known to have used both the devices. And since Mithridates I (c. 171-138/137 B. C.) and Mithridates II (c. 123-88/87 B. C.) and the initial period of the reign of Sinatruces (76/75 to 70 or 69 B. C) may be placed earlier than the known date of Maues

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(Appendix II),[128] the coinage may have an Arsacid origin.[129]

The absence of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions from the pieces in question disassociates them from the coins of the Scytho-Parthian chiefs carrying legends in that script. However, the square shape, not noticeable among the Arsacid series mentioned in the last paragragh,[130] was adopted in the coinages of the Scytho-Parthians and others in India and its borderlands.[131] These apparently contradictory features may be reconciled by assuming that the coins concerned were struck by the Arsacids for circulation in the Indian borderlands.

The cursive nature of writing on these pieces generally agree with those on some coins of the Arsacid Vonones I.[132] Nevertheless, cursive *epsilon* (pl. III, no. 8), cursive *omega* (pl. III, no. 9) and lunate *sigma* (pl. III, no. 10), which are important palaeographic traits of the legends of the Arsakes Theos species, can be traced on certain coins respectively of Maues,[133] Spalyris (and Spalagadama)[134] and Spalirises.[135] All these Scytho-Parthian chiefs probably began to rule by the second quarter of the 1st century B. C. (see below Section I and Appendix II). Hence we can assume that the Arsakes Theos coinage may have been minted during the reign of Sinatruces or later. On the other hand, the indebtedness of the coinage of Maues to the series in question dates it before the end of his rule.[136]

The Arsakes Theos coinage thus indicates the authority of the Imperial Parthians over an area of the Indian borderlands in or after the period of Sinatruces and by that of Maues. As Maues probably imitated the coin-types under discussion, he might have occupied the area which had been once under the Arsacids or where the Arsacid coins had come into regular circulation through trade and commerce. The region may have been, *inter alia*, Arachosia or the land of the Paropamisadae, if it was contiguous to or lay near the territory later conquered by Maues.

We may associate with the same series of coins another square piece bearing identical devices and only the Greek inscription (*B*)*asileos A*(?)*del*(*phou*) *Phil*...[137] (pl. III, no. 11). The term *adelphos* (>*adelphou*), meaning "son of the same mother, kinsman, etc.," [138] was used to denote (in conjunction with the word *basileos* ?) "a brother of the king" (*maharaja-bhrata*) in the coin-legends of Spalirises, [139] a ruler of Arachosia (see above p. 34, n. 18 and below Section I).

Apparently the issuer of the square piece was, like Spalirises, a vassal at the time of its minting. We may guess, though without any degree of certainty, that he ruled in a territory where the above mentioned square Arsacid coins had been manufactured and circulated. We may also perhaps assume, again not on very sure grounds, that the area was Arachosia, where (and in no other place in the Indian borderlands) the title *adelphos* (>*adelphou*) appeared on coins.[140]

If these conjectures are acceptable, Arachosia may be considered to have been under the Arsacids for at least some time during or after the rule of Sinatruces and by the time of Maues. The Arsacid coins, destined to influence the mint-masters of

Maues, found their way through trade and commerce into the territory later conquered by him.

I

Whether this hypothesis is correct or not, there is ample evidence to prove the rule of some Scytho-Parthian chiefs in Arachosia in the 1st century B. C. We are referring to Vonones and his associates.

On the basis of the inscriptions on the coins of the group in question, they can be divided into several classes. Class A, found in silver and copper, bears the name of "Onones, the great,, the king of kings" on one face of the coins and that of "Spalahora, the just, the brother of the great king" on the other. Class B, minted in silver and copper, mentions "Onones, the great, the king of kings" in the obverse inscription and "Spalagadama, the just, son of Spalahora" in the reverse legend. Class C, found only in copper, speaks of "Spalyris, the just, the brother of the king" on one side and of "Spalagadama, the just, the son of Spalahora" on the other. Class D, struck only in silver, refers to "Spalirises, the brother of the king" on the obverse and to "Śpaliriśa, the just, the brother of the great king" on the reverse. Class E, of which copper specimens only are known, furnishes the name of "Spalirises, the great, the king of kings" on one face of the coins and that of "Śpaliriśa, the great, the great king" on the other.[141]

The chronological sequence of the different classes of coins of this group is made clear by several facts. One type (king walking : Zeus enthroned) of copper coins of Class E (i. e., of Spalirises, the great, the king of kings)[142] is found overstruck on an issue of Class A (i. e., of Onones or Vonones and Spalahora) or B (i. e., of Onones or Vonones and Spalagadama),[143] and again on a specimen of Class C (i. e., of Spalyris and Spalagadama).[144] These testimonies prove that Spalirises as a king ruled after Vonones and his lieutenants Spalahora (identifiable with Spalyris)[145] and Spalagadama. Again, the coins of Spalirises issued by him as a monarch must be placed after those struck by him as a brother of a sovereign.

The above-mentioned overstrikings and the identity of the type 'mounted king holding a spear : Zeus' on the silver coins of Spalirises with that on similar issues of Vonones and Spalahora, and of Vonones and Spalagadama may relate Spalirises to king Onones or Vonones. And since we cannot conceive of Spalirises' association with any other monarch, the king implied in the expression "Spalirises, the brother of the king," should be Vonones himself.[146]

It seems that the coins of the group in question indicate rule of nearly two generations. Vonones issued coins with Spalahora, and also with the latter's son Spalagadama, while the two last-mentioned rulers minted Satrapal coins. About the same time Spalirises issued coins as a brother of a king (=Vonones). Later Spalirises succeeded Vonones to the throne.

Together with the above classes of coins we should consider another group of species. Class I of this group consists of a vast number of coins bearing the name of Aẓes on the obverse and of Aya on the reverse. Class II has on the obverse a Greek legend referring to Azes and on the reverse a Kharoshṭhī inscription speaking of one Ayilisha. Class III comprises pieces mentioning Azilises on one side and Ayilisha on the other. Class IV refers to Azilises in the Greek legend on the obverse and to Aya in the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse.[147] On philological grounds the name _*Aza_ (_*Azes_) may be equated with _*Aya_, and _*Azilisa_ (_*Azilises_) with _*Ayilisha_.[148]

The existence of two kings called Azes has long been suspected on the basis of a comparative study of coins of Classes II and IV.[149] It is also indicated by the wide divergence in workmanship of the Azes/Aya issues,[150] the stratified evidence of such pieces at Taxila,[151] and a comparison between the appearance of an early form of Kharoshṭhī *sa* (pl. III, no. 12) on Azes/Aya coins found in the earlier strata and that of a later form (pl. III, no. 13) of the same letter on those from the later strata.[152]

This inference is now substantiated by the evidence furnished by G. K. Jenkins.[153] Of the two well-known obverse devices of Azes coins, viz., 'king on horse back and holding a spear' and 'king on horse back and holding a whip', only the latter occurs on copper and also on debased silver coins. A type of Azilises is overstruck on an Azes coin having the device 'king on horse back and holding a spear' on the obverse. This certainly proves the existence of an Azes before Azilises. However, since Azilises' own silver pieces do not show any sign of debasement, the debased Azes coins with 'the king on horseback and holding a whip' on the obverse cannot be considered simply as later issues of Azes, who began to rule before Azilises, and should be placed after the latter king.

Thus the group of coins in question proves the existence of Azes I, Azilises and Azes II.[154] And if of the two names with similar titles on some Scytho-Parthian coins, the one written in the Greek language is considered to be of more importance (which seems likely as Greek appears to have been regarded as the most important language by the Indo-Greeks and also by the Imperial Parthians),[155] then the issues of Class II indicate the association of Azilises with the rule of Azes I, and the pieces of Class IV suggest that of one Azes, obviously Azes II, with the administration of Azilises.

It should be noted here that a type of the coins, struck in silver and copper and associated with Arachosia on the basis of provenances, refers to "Spalirises, the great, the king," in Greek on the obverse and to "Aya, the great, the great king," in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse.[156] A type of Azilises is overstruck on a coin of Spalirises,[157] and, as we have already noted, the die of an issue of the former is known to have been struck on a coin of Azes I. Hence Aya (=Azes) of the Spalirises/Aya coins was probably not Azes II, who did not rule before Azilises. The ruler concerned should be identified with Azes I.[158]

On some coins of 'the king on horse and holding a whip : Pallas' type, located by G. K. Jenkins in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus,[159] appears the name of king Azes on one side and that of Strategos

Aśpavarman, son of Indravarman, on the other.[160] This Azes, as the obverse device indicates, should be identified with Azes II. Some coins, bearing the Taxilan type of 'mounted king : Zeus standing to r. with a sceptre,'[161] have a Greek legend (not fully legible.) and the symbol of Gondophares I on the obverse and the name of Strategos Aśpavarman, son of Indravarman, on the reverse. R. B. Whitehead considered these pieces as joint issues of Gondophares I and Aśpavarman mainly on the basis of the appearance of the peculiar Gondopharian symbol.[162] We have examined several such coins in the British Museum. We are able to read parts of the name of Yndopherres (=Gondophares) on several of them.[163]

It appears that Aśpavarman, son of Indravarman, served under both Azes II and Gondophares I. Indravarman, the father of Aśpavarman, has been convincingly identified with Apracharaja Itravarman, son of Vijayamitra,[164] referred to in the reverse legend of a group of coins displaying 'the king on horse back and holding a whip' on the obverse and Pallas on the reverse.[165] Traces of the expression *Azzau* (= *Azzaou* = *Azou*), meaning "of *Azes*", may be noticed on at least two of these pieces, now in the British Museum[166] (pl. III, no. 14). The obverse device indicates that this Azes was the second ruler of that name. Apparently he had under him first Itravarman and then the latter's son Aśpavarman, while Gondophares I was served only by the son and not the father. However, a nephew of Aśpa= Aśpavarman,[167] called Sasan,[168] is known to have struck coins with Gondophares I.[169]

These data suggest that Azes II was either a very senior contemporary of Gondophares I or actually predeceased him. And since Gondophares I ruled from c.A.D. 20-21 to 46 (Appendix II), Azes II might not have continued to be on the throne long after the second decade of the 1st century A.D. He might have even ceased to rule by c. A.D. 20-21. It appears that at least the major part of the reign of Azes II, the whole of the periods of Azilises and Azes I and roughly two generations of the rule of the Vonones group must be dated before c.A.D. 20-21. And since the known dates of many early or early mediaeval ruling families of North India give an average of twenty-six years per generation and nineteen years per reign,[169a] we should place the initial year of the administration of Vonones, as indicated by his coins, probably not after c. 70 B. C. (and definitely not later than 50 B.C.[169b]). On the other hand, the available data do not warrant his reign before the second quarter of the 1st century B. C.

We have already demonstrated that Vonones and his associates ruled in Arachosia (including the Kandahar and Ghazni regions ; see above, pp. 33-34, n. 18). The theory of their presence in Seistan[170] and some other localities[171] is not proved either by their coin-types or by the discovery of a large number of their coins in each of these areas or by any other reliable evidence.[172]

It is interesting to note that our above observations on the coinage of Arsakes Theos imply the Arsacid hegemony over Arachosia about the same time as that of the rule of Vonones. It is also remarkable

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that the name *Vonones* was certainly assumed by at least two of the Arsacids,[173] while the names of the associates of Vonones were of Iranian origin.[174]

It is not impossible that the family of Vonones came to Arachosia in the wake of one of the Arsacid invasions. One may also argue that some of the ancestors of Vonones and/or he himself had served the Arsacids. Nevertheless, as the titles on his coins suggest, he must have been ruling as a supreme monarch when those pieces were minted. So if at all Arachosia had been in the Arsacid empire about the time of Vonones, he either usurped the authority over that region or conquered it.[175]

As noted above, the successor of Vonones on the Arachosian throne was Spalirises.[176] The latter struck coins with Azes I. G.K. Jenkins has shown that mints of Azes I and of his co-ruler and successor Azilises, but not of Azes II, can be located in Arachosia[177] (see also Appendix I). This alludes to the loss of that territory by the Azes group either sometime during the reign of Azilises or in the beginning of the independent rule of Azes II.

As we have pointed out above, Azes II did not continue to be on the throne long after, if at all, the second decade of the 1st century A.D. This inference indicates that he may have begun to reign by about the beginning of the Christian Era. On the other hand, Aśpavarman's connection with him and also (later) with Gondophares I does not allow us to date the initial year of the administration of Azes II more than a generation before the commencement of that of Gondophares I, i. e., A.D. 20/21. These considerations and the above observation suggesting an average of twenty-six years per generation and nineteen years per reign tend to fix the first year of the period of Azes II to a year between (c. A.D. 20/21—26) c. 6-5 B.C. and (c. A.D. 20/21—19) c. A.D. 1-2.[178] Hence his senior co-ruler and predecessor on the throne, Azilises, probably began to rule sometime between (c. 6/5 B.C. —26) c. 32-31 B.C. and (c. A.D. 1/2—19) c. 19-18 B.C.

This chronological scheme tempts us to assume that Arachosia was lost by the group of Azes I sometime between c, 32-31 B. C. and one of the early years of the rule of Azes II commencing between c. 6-5 B.C. and c. A.D. 1-2.

J

Light on Arachosia in the closing decades of the 1st century B.C. is thrown also by the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* of Isidore of Charax. It was composed in or probably after 26 B. C. The latest date for its information on the eastern part of the Arsacid empire, based apparently on approximately contemporary data, should be placed by c. 1 B.C. (Appendix IV).

In course of its description of an itinerary of a caravan trail, the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* states that "beyond (Zarangiana) is Sakastana of the Skythian (or *Scythian*) Sakai (or *Sacae*), which is also Paraitakene, 63 schoeni. There are the city of Barda and the city of Min and the city of Palacenti and the city of Sigal ; in that place is the royal residence of the Sakai (or *Sacae*) ; and nearby is the city of Alexandria (and nearby is the city of Alexandropolis), and 6 villages. Beyond is Arachosia, 36 schoeni. And the Parthians call this White India ; there are the city of Biyt and the city of Pharsana and the city of Chorochoad and the city of Demetrias ; then Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia ; it is Greek, and by it flows the river Arachotus. As far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians"[179] (*Italics ours*).

Thus by the last quarter of the 1st century B. C. Sakastana or Seistan and Arachosia, including the Kandahar area, were within the Parthian empire.

It is interesting to note that Isidore states that in the city of Sigal in Sakastana, a part of the Parthian empire, "is the royal residence of the Sakai" (i.e., the Śakas). This certainly means the existence of a Śaka feudatory state in Sakastana or the Seistan region in or about the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. The Śakas in question owed allegiance to the Arsacids.

This inference is in a way supported by a section of Chapter 96A of the *Ch'ien Han-shu*. In the introductory portion of the chapter concerned, which deals with the "western regions," it is stated that "after the reigns of Seuen-te and Yuen-te...the western regions gave in their submission. The extent of the land, the hills and the rivers, the kings and marquises, the number of people, and the distances by the roads were all carefully examined and noted".[180] Seuen-te and Yuen-te are known to have ruled respectively from 73 to 49 B.C. and from 48 to 33 B.C.[181] Hence each of the data concerning "western regions", as contained in Chapter 96A, which cannot be definitely placed later than c. 33 B.C., should be dated before or in or at least not long after that year.[182]

According to a notice on the kingdom of Yu-yi-shan-li, occurring in the same chapter, its people "are very numerous and are often under petty chieftains, subject to the An-hsi".[183] Thus by 33 B.C. or at least by the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Yu-yi-shan-li, which can be located in the Seistan area,[184] had experienced the rule of some vassals of An-hsi or the Parthian empire.[185] The fact that the *Ch'ien Han-shu* treats Wu-yi-shan-li and An-hsi as separate countries implies that at the time of the collection of its information on Wu-yi-shan-li, that territory enjoyed autonomy or was independent of An-hsi. Whatever may have been the case, the *Ch'ien Han-shu's* evidence enhances the feasibility of any theory of the Arsacid authority over the Seistan region. It can even be argued that this area may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Arsacids continuously or continually from an earlier period (see above pp. 66 and 73 and below nn. 47 and 87) to at least the date of Isidore's information on it.

Alexandropolis, the metropolis of nearby Arachosia, is described in the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* as "Greek". But this description may not have any political implication and it perhaps alludes to the predominance of Greek elements in the local population or to the Hellenic influence on the city's cultural life.[186] Either of these is quite likely, since Arachosia had once been under Greek rule. So we need not presume that the Greeks controlled Arachosia immediately before the Arsacid conquest in question.

We have other data to identify the power from whom the Arsacids conquered (or rather re-conquered)

Arschosia. It has already been shown that Arachosia was under the group of Azes I at least up to a period in the reign of Azilises. He was probably not on the throne before c. 32-31 B.C. or after c. A.D. 1-2. His co-ruler and also successor Azes II began to rule sometime between c. 6-5 B.C. and c. A.D. 1-2 (see above p. 91). These chronological details tempt us to assume that Arachosia was captured by the Arsacids from the group of Azes I in or about the first quarter of the 1st century B.C.

Arachosia might not have been always the south-eastern limit of the area of the Arsacid activities in or about that period. We have already seen that an evidence of Agrippa may suggest the presence of the Arsacids in a territory on the lower Indus in 26 or 25 B.C. (see above Chapter II). If Arachosia was under them by either of these years, they might have advanced through it to the lower Indus.

We must, however, take notice of the testimonies regarding the Arsacid rule in Satraidia, situated in or near Baluchistan, and in the region of the Arabis or Arbis, identifiable with the Hab or the Purali (see above pp. 30 and 35, n. 33 and pp. 49-51). If these data can be dated to c. 26 or 25 B.C., then it may be argued that the Arsacids could have aproached the Indus through Baluchistan. The dates of the testimonies are, however, not absolutely certain.[187]

The furthest extension of the Arsacid empire in the south-eastern direction may have been Sauvīra, situated on the eastern side of the lower Indus, if that territory is identified with Sabeer, described by the *Cosmographia* of Ravenna as a part of the Parthian empire (see above pp. 49-51). However, here again any inference concerning the period of the Arsacid rule in Sabeer is impeded by the uncertainty of the date of the evidence.

Thus we cannot be sure of the exact extent of the Arsacid rule to the east and south-east of Sakastana in or about the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. We can only assume with some confidence that Arachosia and a territory on the lower Indus were within the Parthian empire in or about that period. The first territory was wrested from the group of Azes I. But the vanquished power in the second area cannot be determined.

The prime motive behind the Arsacid thrust towards Arachosia and beyond may have been the urge to assert or re-assert their authority in the countries concerned. They may not have been altogether unaware of the economic importance of the lower Indus area, which must have assumed added significance with the beginning of the flourishing period of the Indo-Roman trade in the second half of the 1st century B.C. (see above pp. 5 and 8, nn. 36-37).

K

In connection with our discussion on the activities of the Arsacids on the Indus we may study four coins of copper[188] and one of base silver[189] referring to Arsakes Dikaios. The obverse shows a royal figure on horse-back to right, holding a whip in his extended right hand. On the reverse the figure of Zeus stands to left, holding a long sceptre in his left hand and Nike with a palm-wreath on the outstretched right

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hand. The full obverse legend in Greek can be reconstructed as *Basileuontos Basileon Diḳaiou Arsaḳou*. The reverse legend in Kharoshṭhī is *Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Arshaḳasa Tratarasa Jayatasa*[190] (the epithet *Jayata*(*sa*) can be traced on two pieces)[191] (pl. III, no. 14).

The stylistic treatment of these pieces have great affinity to the coins bearing the same types (king on horse-back to right holding a whip: Zeus Nikephoros standing to left) and belonging to Azilises and Azes II,[192] Azes II alone,[193] and Rajuvula.[194] The treatment of the figure of Zeus on one piece of Arsakes Dikaios,[195] however, betrays more resemblance to that on some coins with identical devices struck by Gondophares I and Sasan, the nephew of Aśpa (Aśpavarman).[196] It appears that all these coins were products of one and the same mint.

They have already been attributed to Taxila.[197] Hence the coins of Arsakes Dikaios indicate his rule in Taxila. However, his only known types, when compared with numerous coin-types of the groups of Azes I and Gondophares I, ascribable to North-Western India, perhaps suggest that his authority in Taxila was acknowledged only for a very brief period. As his coinage in the North-West seems to have been rather ephemeral, he probably imitated one of the existing coin-types[198] and did not introduce any new one in Taxila. This means that this locality was under him for a short spell between the beginning of the rule of Azes II as a co-ruler or supreme ruler (by c. 6-5 B.C. or at least c. A.D. 1-2) and the minting of the joint coinage of Sasan and Gondophares I sometime in the reign of the latter (c. A.D. 20/21-46).[199]

The name *Arsakes* (*Arsakou*), appearing on the coins concerned, tempts us to attribute them to the Arsacid family, some members of which assumed the titles *Dikaios*[200] and *Basileuontos Basileon.*[201] In fact, if the Arsakes coinage implies the overrunning of a part of Azes II's dominions in the North-West India, such an act may be considered as harmonious with the evidence of aggrandisement of the Arsacid power in the territories of the Azes group, which had earlier included Arachosia. The Arsacid success in the North-West was probably short-lived.[202]

L

In fact, the Imperial Parthians had already begun to lose ground in the Indian borderlands. As noted above, the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* refers to Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia, and the river Arachotus, flowing nearby, and then states that "as far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians."[203] As the general direction of the route described by the author Isidore is from the west to east, his testimony should mean that he did not know of any Arsacid province to the east of Arachosia. We have already noted that his treatise was composed sometime between c. 26 or 25 B.C. and c. 1 B.C. on the basis of approximately contemporary evidence (see also Appendix IV). Hence we may infer that the Arsacids, who appear to have been in a region on the lower Indus in c. 26 or 25 B.C., probably bowed out of it either immediately after these years or at least by c. 1 B.C.[204]

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Their victor is unknown. We have shown elsewhere that Gondophares I and some of his successors had under them at least a part of the lower Indus area, and that it was annexed from them to the Kushāṇa empire in the days of V'ima Kadphises.[205] However, as Gondophares I ruled from c. A.D. 20-21 to 46, he could not have been the adversary of the Imperial Parthians in the zone in question. We must remain content by assuming that the region was lost by the Arsacids to some power or powers which interposed between their rule and that of Gondophares I.

M

The group of Gondophares I may have been in more direct contact with the Imperial Parthians in another area. However, the study of the problem of the relationship between them should be preceded by an examination of certain groups of species.

Several copper coins bear on the obverse a Greek legend referring to "Orthagnes, the great, the king of Kings", and on the reverse the Kharoshṭhī inscription *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Gudavharasa* (variants-*Guduvharsa* and *Gudravharasa*) *Gadana* (variants-*Gada* (?), *Gaḍa*, *Guda* (?), *Guḍa*, *Gadanasa* (?), *Gaḍana*, *Gudana*, *Guḍana* and *Guḍaṇasa*).[206] Both the legends contain at least one imperial title, but *Maharaja* of the Kharoshṭhī inscription has no corresponding word in the Greek one. However, the presence of the title *maharaja* cannot be taken as of great significance as each of the legends denotes, *prima facie*, imperial authority. Nevertheless, since the king's name on the obverse differs from the names on the reverse,[207] the pieces in question must have been struck jointly.

To the Parthians or the Scytho-Parthians of the Indo-Iranian borderlands the Greek script and language were more important than the Kharoshṭhī script and the Prakrit language (see above p. 87). In fact, on the coins struck jointly by Azilises and Azes II, both using imperial titles, the name of the former, known to us as the senior ruler, appears in the Greek legend on the obverse. Hence we are bound to conclude that of the rulers responsible for the minting of the coins in question, Orthagnes was the seniormost.

Gaḍa (or Gadana, etc.) seems to be the same as Gadana, who has been described as "the Maharaja, the victorious general", etc., in the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse of a group of copper coins having on the obverse a Greek legend referring to Y(or I)nduphrros (i.e., Gondophares)[208] as "the great, the king of kings".[209] This shows that Gaḍa or Gadana was a general of Gondophares I and so a junior to him in the administration. This inference may also be supported by the fact that on the reverse of the coins in question the titles *maharaja*, *rajatiraja* and *mahata* appear in genitive singular and can qualify only one person, who may be Gudavhara (i.e., Gondophares I), whose name appears immediately after the titles. If this is so, the joint issues concerned do not ascribe any title to Gaḍa or Gadana. In any case, it seems that when these coins were struck Gondophares I was associated with the administration of Orthagnes, and Gaḍa was a junior to Gondophares I.[210]

c. A.D. 20-21 was the initial year of the rule of Gondophares I, either as an associate ruler or as an independent king. There is no reason to suggest an interval between his appointment as an associate of Orthagnes and the minting of the coins in question. Hence the government of Orthagnes and his assistants should have come into existence by c. A.D. 20-21.[211] On the other hand, the senior co-ruler of Gondophares I, Orthagnes, could not possibly have assumed power more than one generation earlier than c. A.D. 20-21, i.e., not before (c. A.D. 20-21—19) c. A.D. 1-2 or (c. A.D. 20-21—26) c. 6-5 B.C.[212] (see also above pp. 89-90).

The mint concerned can be located with some confidence. Coins of Orthagnes can be broadly divided, on the basis of inscriptions, into two classes—one bearing both Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends and the other only Greek inscriptions. They are found chiefly in Seistan and the Kandahar areas.[213] Of these, those carrying Kharoshṭhī as well as Greek letters, should be attributed to the Kandahar area, which was nearer than Seistan to North-Western India, where the Kharoshṭhī script was once used regularly.[214] The pieces carrying only Greek inscriptions should be assigned to Seistan, which is remoter than Kandahar from the Indian subcontinent and where the Kharoshṭhī alphabet is not known to have ever been popular.[215] The coins of Orthagnes and his associates, discussed above, belong to the first of the two classes of species mentioned in this paragraph.

So they should be placed in the Kandahar region, once included in ancient Arachosia.[216] Hence we may infer that these pieces, which are struck in copper or bronze and which bear a diademed bust of a male facing to right on the obverse and a winged Nike standing to left and holding a wreath on the reverse,[217] were meant for circulation in Arachosia.

It thus seems that by sometime between c. 6-5 B.C. or c. A.D. 1-2 and a date falling in or before c. A.D. 20-21 Orthagnes began to rule in Arachosia with the help of Gondophares I and Gaḍa.

Another group of coins, belonging to the second class mentioned in the last paragraph, bears a royal bust on the obverse and a female [Nike or Tyche (?)] crowning an enthroned king from behind on the reverse.[218] The Greek legend on them refers only to the name of Orthagnes and to his imperial titles.[219] They have been assigned to Seistan. In fact, these pieces, which are of silver, have been found mainly in Seistan.[220] They testify to the authority of Orthagnes over that area.

A class of coins of the Arachosian type carries on the obverse a Greek legend referring to Orthagnes, and on the reverse a Kharoshṭhī inscription mentioning Guḍrana (or Gadrana), i.e., Gadana.[221] The absence of the name of Gondophares I from these coins indicates his dissociation from the administration of Arachosia within the lifetime of Orthagnes.

Gondophares I's relation with Arachosia did not, however, finally end with the discontinuance of his association with Orthagnes. There are two classes of coins bearing respectively the above-mentioned Arachosian and Seistan types, both referring only to Gondophares (I).[222]

Numismatic evidence is also quite definite about the extension of the authority of Gondophares I to regions well within the borders of North-Western India. The mint of his 'king on horse-back : Pallas standing to right' coins has been located in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus (i.e., the Peshawar district).[223] The inscription of the year 103, referring to Guduvhara (i.e., Gondophares I), has also been discovered in the same area.[224] His 'king on horse-back : standing Zeus' pieces can be attributed, following G. K. Jenkins' line of reasoning, to the Taxila mint.[225] The 'bust of king : standing Pallas' drachms of this ruler may have been meant for circulation in areas to the east of the Jhelum.[226] We have shown elsewhere that two coins of good silver carrying a bust on the obverse and Nike on the reverse, may be ascribed to Gondophares I and may allude to his rule in a territory on the lower Indus.[227]

On all coins of Gondophares I, ascribable to North-Western India or to the lower Indus area, he is given either royal or imperial titles,[228] and is not mentioned in association with Orthagnes or Gaḍa. There is also no evidence of the authority of either of the last two rulers over any part of India.[229] Hence we infer that here Gondophares I was independent of them.

The joint issues of Gondophares I and Aśpavarman, which bear the above-mentioned Taxilan devices (king on horse-back : standing Zeus[230]), indicate their rule in Taxila. We have already noted that the date of this joint coinage must be placed shortly after that of the coins made jointly by Azes II and Aśpavarman. The mint of these pieces, displaying the equestrian figure of the king, holding a whip, on the obverse and standing Pallas on the reverse,[231] may have been located in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus.[232] It appears that the authority over the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent passed from Azes II to Gondophares I. Azes II did not continue to rule much later than c. A.D. 20-21. He may have even ceased to reign by that date (see above, p. 89). So Gondophares I, who was in power from c. A.D. 20-21 to 46, might have begun his rule in North-Western India in or shortly after c. A.D. 20-21.

E. J. Rapson[233] and S. Konow[234] apparently thought that in North-Western India Gondophares (= Gondophares I) peacefully succeeded Azes II in the position of the supreme ruler. However, there is no evidence suggesting either the rule of Gondophares I or of Orthagnes under the suzerainty of Azes II in any region or period. There is also no source testifying to cordial relations between the first two rulers on the one hand and the third on the other. Hence we are bound to conclude, following H. C. Raychaudhuri[235] and J. N. Banerjea,[236] that Gondophares I conquered from Azes II parts of North-Western India including Gandhāra to the west of the Indus.

Thus Gondophares I's independent conquests in North-Western India began in about, or at least not long after A.D. 20-21. The coins struck jointly by

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Orthagnes, Gaḍa and Gondophares I were evidently no longer issued when Gondophares I began his independent career. So about the same time Orthagnes may have minted coins jointly with Guḍrana, i.e., Gadana or Gaḍa.[237] The almost simultaneous minting of the joint coinage of Orthagnes and Gaḍa and at least some of the independent coins of Gondophares I indicates that his independent career in India was at least partly contemporary with the rule of Orthagnes in Arachosia. Either Gondophares I left Arachosia for India of his own accord or he was commissioned by Orthagnes to conquer parts of India. Whatever may have been the cause of the advent of Gondophares I in North-Western India, the result was the establishment of his supreme authority there.[238]

The Arachosian and the Seistani types of coins, issued independently by Gondophares I, ascribe to him regal titles,[239] and thereby indicate his sole authority over these countries at least for some time. Probably he peacefully succeeded Orthagnes in these areas or conquered them from him or his successor. We have already referred to some copper pieces, bearing the Arachosian devices, which were issued jointly by Gondophares I, as the great king of kings, and Gadana, as the great king, the victorious general, etc. These coins indicate that Gadana (i.e., Gaḍa) transferred his allegiance from Orthagnes to Gondophares I.[240]

Thus at least for some time between A.D. 20-21 and 46,[241] Gondophares I controlled, *inter alia*, parts of Northern India, Arachosia and Seistan.[242] However, his authority over the upper Kabul valley, though suggested, is proved neither by literary,[243] nor by numismatic testimonies.[244] None of his coin-types can be ascribed to the Kapiśa (Begram) mint,[245] nor is his occupation of that locality indicated by the provenances of a great number of his coins.[246]

The above discussion shows that Orthagnes commenced his rule in Sakastan and Arachosia sometime between c. 6-5 B.C. or c. A.D. 1-2 and a date falling in or before c. A.D. 20-21. Gondophares I was for a certain period associated with his administration in Arachosia. Later Gondophares I reigned independently in North India and (then) also in Arachosia and Sakastan. Hence Orthagnes may have ceased to rule in the last two territories before the end of the reign of Gondophares I.

We have already inferred that by c. 1 B.C. Arachosia and Sakastan were included in the Arsacid empire. The coin-types of Seistan (bust : enthroned king holding a bow (?) and being crowned by a female), as adopted by Orthagnes, betray affinity to the Imperial Parthian coins displaying royal bust and enthroned king carrying a bow.[247] There is also similarity between the mode of setting inscribed lines on these two groups of coins.[248] It is also noteworthy that not only several of the imperial Parthian coins bearing these devices have been found in Seistan,[249] but also the Arsacid series in question is known to have been struck from a period much earlier than any conceivable date for Orthagnes.[250] These data suggest that the pieces of Orthagnes, attributed to Seistan, were influenced by the Arsacid coinage.[251]

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It appears that the Imperial Parthian coins were in circulation in Seistan when Orthagnes rose to power. As noted above, the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* alludes to the existence of a Saka (Śaka) subordinate ruling family in Sakastana, an Arsacid province, in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. However, the probability of the cultural and ethnic fusions between the Scythians (including the Śakas) and the Parthians within the Arsacid empire by the period concerned was so great [252] that we should better call the Śaka vassal or vassals in question as Scytho-Parthian. To the same nationality we may tentatively assign Orthagnes, Gondophares I and the latter's successors, whose names indicate Iranian origin[253] and the busts on whose coins are comparable with those on the Arsacid pieces.[254]

These premises may lead to the inference that Orthagnes was related to a family serving the Imperial Parthians in Seistan. The greatest impediment to such a hypothesis is, however, the evidence of his own coin-legends, which ascribe to him only imperial or royal titles.[255] Hence we must concede that whatever may have been the relation of Orthagnes or his kinsmen with the Arsacids before the minting of his coins, he was probably a sovereign ruler when he struck them.

Orthagnes may have either usurped the ruling authority in the Arsacid provinces of Arachosia and Sakastana, or conquered these territories from the Arsacids.[256] The Imperial Parthians lost them by the first quarter of the 1st century A.D.

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The Arsacids were also ousted from the country to the south or the south-east of the Hindu-Kush. As we have noted above, the *Hou Han-shu* speaks of the Yüeh-chih conquest of Kao-fu (or the Kabul region) from An-hsi (or the Arsacid empire) (see above p. 77). The samet reatise also states that the Yüeh-chih king Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh "invaded An-hsi (and) took away the land of Kao-fu".[257] Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh has been identified with Kujula Kadphises, who belonged to the Kushāṇa branch of the Yüeh-chih people.[258] Hence it seems certain that Kujula annexed the Arsacid territory of Kao fu to the Kushāṇa Kingdom.

The excellence of the people of Kao-fu in commerce and their great wealth, referred to by the *Hou Han-shu*,[259] may have lured the Kushāṇas into that area. The Kushāṇas were eager to make profit out of trade.[260]

Kao-fu or the Kabul country was obviously included in the land of the Paropamisadae, parts of which at least were under the Imperial Parthians for some time in the 1st century B.C. (see above p. 77). The area of the Paropamisadae is, however, not included in the Parthian empire by the author of the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* even though he composed it between c. 26 or 25 B.C. and c. 1 B.C. on the basis of more or less contemporary information (Appendix IV). The absence of the country of the Paropamisadae from Isidore's list of Arsacid provinces assumes significance for two reasons. Firstly, the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* purports to record the halting

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stations of the Parthian empire.[261] Secondly, the region concerned lay only next to Arachosia on the very same important route which Isidore traced only up to (and including) the latter territory (i.e., Arachosia).[262] The absence is indeed too glaring to be ignored, and may perhaps be best explained by the assumption of the cessation of the zone of the Paropamisadae as an Arsacid dominon by c. 1 B.C.

Thus the political authority of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands was liquidated by the Kushāṇas, a few Scytho-Parthian chiefs and perhaps some other power or powers.[263] The Imperial Parthians bowed out of these regions by the first quarter of the 1st century A.D.[264]

NOTES

1. Herodotus, *History*, III, 91, 94 and 98-102 ; IV, 44 ; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1966, vol. I, no. 3, p. 5.
2. Herodotus, *Op. cit.*, IV, 44.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 20 ; E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. II, p. 51.
5. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 133.
6. Agatharchides, *Peri Tes Erythras Thalasses* quoted in Diodorous Siculus, *Bibliothekes Historikes*, III, 47 ; C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. I, p. 190. Agatharchides also stated that "in these islands you can see merchant ships, most of which have come from the harbour founded by Alexander near the Indus, also quite a few from Persia and Carmania and neighbouring regions" (C. Müller, *Op. cit* , vol. I, p. 191).

7. Arrian, *Indike*, secs. XXI-XLI.

8. *Ibid* , secs. XXXV, XXXVII and LXII.

9. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), pp. 62, 261, 362 and 481-485.

10. *NH*, VI, 21, 61.

11. *Ibid.*, VI, 21, 61-62, W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax* , pp. 31, 34 and 38 ; S. N. Majumdar-Sastri (editor), *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, p. 38 ; M. Wheeler, *Charsada, A Metropolis of North-Western India*, pp. 3f. Strabo cites, on the basis of the information supplied by Eratosthenes, the names of these and other cities situated between the Caspian Gates and the borders of India. He refers to Ortospana (Kabul) as situated "on the three roads from Bactra" (*Strabo,* XV, II, 8). Bactra itself was approachable by routes from the east (and north-east) which were connected through Su-lo (Kashgarh) and So-chü (Yarkand) respectively with the Northern Road and the Southern Road, referred to in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* (*CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 21. L. Boulnois, *The Silk Road*, pp. 61f. ; M. Stein, *The Innermost Asia*, vol. II, p. 805 ; Parthia, p. 205 ; etc.). Chang Ch'ien may have followed one of these routes. These, however, came into prominence after the period of Mithridates I (W. Samolin, *The Chinese Turkistan Down to the Twelfth century A.D.*, pp. 19 f.).

12. *NH*, VI, 23, 76.

13. The *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, compiled in the 1st century B.C., connects Seleucia with the route running through the Caspian Gates (secs. 2-8).

14. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 21 ; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 564. The Lower Indus country was also entered from the west from pre-historic times by the Phusi and Rohal Passes (N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 48, pp. 153-154). It appears from the prose section of a Jātaka story, ascribable to the early centuries of the Christian Era or before (*AIU*, p. 405),

that a route lay across a desert (*Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*, C. Fausboll, *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 107). The desert was probably that of Rajasthan (see *Com. His. Ind*, vol. II, p. 71 ; *JRAS*, 1939, p. 230). So the route may have been near or even connected with the Sind region bordering Rajasthan.

15. Arrian, *Anabaseos Alexandron* VI, 21 f. ; see also J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great* (The Modern Library Edition), the map facing p. 770.
16. For routes to the west of Seleucia, see W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.
17. *Ibid.*, pp 60-62, 261 and 362.
18. According to the *Shih-chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and the *Ch'ien Han-shu* of Pan Ku, Chang Ch'ien was sent by the Han emperor (Wu-ti) on a mission to the Yüeh-chih country in the period of Chien-yüen (*SC*, ch. 123, pp 1-3 ; *CHS*, ch. 61, pp. 1-6) (140-134 B.C.) (*JAOS*, 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 93. According to the calculations made by A. Wylie, the years from 140 to 135 B.C. should have fallen in the *Chien-yüen* period.—*JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 66). More than ten years later the envoy reached the country of the Yüeh-chih, and then went to Ta-hsia. He stayed in the latter region for a year, and then commenced his return journey to China. On his way he lost more than one year (*SC*, ch. 123 ; *CHS*, ch. 61 ; *JAOS*, 1917, vol. XXXVII, pp. 94-95 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 66-67).

In Chapter 116 of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* the date of the envoy's return to China is fixed in the first year of Yüan So (*CHS*, ch. 116 ; B. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China by Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, vol. II, p. 293), i.e., c. 123 B.C. (H. H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan-ku*, vol. II, p. 45). It also appears from the data furnished by Chapter 61 of the same treatise and Chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi* that Chang Ch'ien was back in China well before 123 B.C. (*CHS*, ch. 61 ; *SC*, ch. 123 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 68 ; *JAOS*, 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 99).

Thus the descriptions of the countries of the Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia, as given in Chang Ch'ien's report to the Han emperor after returning to China, cannot be applicable to any year earlier or later than c. 130-129 B.C.

19. *SC*, ch. 123, p. 5.

20 B. N. Mukherjee, *The Chronology of the End of the Greek Rule in Bactria and Sogdiana*, appendix I (in press).

Ta-hsia of Chang Ch'ien's report was under the Yüeh-chih (*SC*, ch. 123, p. 5). According to the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, Ta-hsia was divided into (or among) five hsi-hou (*yabgus*), which (or who) belonged (*shu*) to the Ta Yüeh-chih. The *yabgus* concerned are stated to have been those of Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hsi-tun and Kao-fu (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14). The *Hou Han-shu* replaced Kao-fu by Tu-mi and expressly stated that the *Ch'ien Han-shu* was wrong in taking Kao-fu as being one of the five hsi-hou (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9).

J. Marquart correctly identified Hsiu-mi with Wakhan and Shuang-mi with Chitral (*Eranshahr*, p. 245). However, his identification of Hsi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir and of Kuei-shuang with the country north of Gandhāra or Gandhāra itself (*Ibid.*, pp. 245-246), are not supported by definite data. The *Pei-shih*, which was completed in A.D. 659 and which covered the period ranging from A.D. 386 to 618 (H. Frankel, *Catalogue of Translations from Chinese Dynastic Histories for the Period 220-960*, p. 156), expressly equated Hsi-tun with the kingdom of Fu-ti-sha (*Pei-shih*, ch. 97, p. 11). The Ancient Chinese pronunciation of the name *Fu-ti-sha* is known to have been *Pi͜^{ə}t-d'iek-ṣa* (E. Zürcher. The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in Chinese sources, *PCDK*, p. 19. According to A. Herrmann, the pronunciation of the name *Fu-ti-sha* was *Pi͜u^{ə}t-tiäi-ṣa*.—A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, p. 93 ; no. 694). This information and the probability of the location of Fu-ti-sha not far from Hsiu-mi or Wakhan and Shuang-mi or Chitral (see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXVI, pl. 49, F2) remind us of the region of Badhakhsha(n) or Badakhsha(n), noted as Po-to-cha'ng-na by Hsüan-tsang (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 277). These considerations lead us to accept the equation *Hsi-tun* = *Fu-ti-sha* = *Badakhshan* (see also *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 187, f. n. 2).

The *Pei-shih* also stated that the capital of Ch'ien-tun, known earlier as Kuei-shuang, lay to the west of Che-hsüeh-mo-sun, previously called Shuang-mi, and indicated that the former (i.e., Ch'ien-tun = Kuei-shuang) was also to the east of the capital of Fu-ti-sha (= Hsi-tun) (*Pei-shih*, ch. 97, p. 11 ; *Wei-shu*, ch. 102, pp. 8, 9 and 12). Thus Kuei-shuang should have been somewhere between Badakhshan and Chitral.

Tu-mi cannot be located with certainty. However, as the author (or authors) of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* appears (or appear) to have confused Tu-mi with Kao-fu, and as the territories concerned seem to have been situated to the north of Kabul, the region in question may have been somewhere immediately to the north of Kao-fu, or the Kabul region (i.e., in Kafiristan ?).

Thus Ta-hsia included Wakhan, Badakhshan, Chitral, Kafiristan (?) and also apparently the regions lying between them. And since the *Hou Han-shu* expressly states that the Yüeh-chih "divided their country (i.e., Ta-hsia) into five hsi-hou (*yabgus*)" (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9), meaning that the whole country was parcelled out between five hsi-hou or five *yabgus*, Ta-hsia could not possibly have included any territory outside those enumerated here.

This conclusion strikes at the very root of the oft-repeated theory that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria. (*JAOS*, 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 102 ; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 459; *JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 10 ; *Scythian Period*, p. 28 ; *AIU*, p. 137 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 223 ; etc.). No doubt, Ta-hsia may have embraced, among others, the eastern parts of Bactria, as it is understood from the geography of Ptolemy (*Ptolemy*, VI, 11, 1f. ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 269f.), and from this point of view the Yüeh-chih could be called Bactrians from the time they began to live in the Ta-hsia region of Bactria. Nevertheless, Bactria proper, i.e., the region around Bactra, was not under the Yüeh-chih till the time of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh or Kujula Kadphises. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, this monarch destroyed P'u-ta (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9). *P'u-ta*, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as *B'uok-d'ât* (*tāt* in Canton dialect) (*Karlgren*, no. 956 ; A. Herrmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 101, no. 2005), reminds one of *Bactra*, the name of a town of Bactria (see also *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 514).

It is interesting to note that the *Wei-shu* refers to the five hsi-hou (into which or among whom the *Ch'ien-Han-shu* divides *Ta-hsia*) and also speaks of the country of P'o-chih, identifiable with the region of Balkh (*Wei-shu* ch. 102, p. 8 ; *JA*, 1883, s. VIII, vol. II, p. 331 ; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur Les Tou-Kiue* (*Turcs*) *Occidentaux*, p. 354), as distinct from the territories assigned to the above five *yabgus*. This evidence also suggests that the region around Balkh or Bactra was not within old Ta-hsia. Again, as Chapter 96A of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* states that "to the east of An-hsi is the country of the Ta Yüeh-chih" (*CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 40), and as the same treatise indicates that the portions of the Ta Yüeh-chih country to the south of the Kuei (i.e., the Oxus) comprised Ta-hsia only (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14), the region of Bactra lying almost immediately to the west of Ta-hsia could well have been under the influence of An-hsi.

21. See our article in *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV.
22. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 138 f.
23. *SC*, ch. 123, pp. 4-5 ; B. Watson, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 268.
24. *HHS*, ch. 88 ; F. Hirth, *Op. cit.*, p. 42 ; see also *Ibid.*, p. 70.
25. *HHS*, ch. 88 ; F. Hirth, *Op. cit.*, p. 42 ; see also *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 70.
26. The name *Ta-chin* is based on that of Syria, a Roman province (F. Hirth, *Op. cit.*, pp. 214 f.).
27. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, I, 27 f.
28. There are indications that the Arsacids grew wealthy on their subjects' trade (*CAH*, vol. IX, p. 598 ; *Parthia*, p.

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XLI ; H. G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, A History of Parthia*, p. 425).

29. R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 51-52.
30. W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 261.
31. *Parthia*, p. 23 ; S. L. Ootchyenko *et al* (editors), *Vsyemirnaya Istoriya*, vol. II, p. 431.
32. *Justin*, XLI, 6, 8.
33. *Coins of Parthia*, p. XX ; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 32 f.n. 3 ; *Scythian Period*, p. 34 ; etc.
34 *Parthia*, p. 19, and fn. 86.
35. See J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin*, p 58, fn. 2.
36. *Strabo*, XI, 11, 2. .
37. *Ibid.*, XI, 9,2 .
38. *Ibid.*, XI, 11, 1-2 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 219.
39. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 53.
40. *Justin*, LXI, 6, 1. This testimony militates against the theory of S. Konow apparently suggesting Mithridates I as the conqueror of the Scythians who had themselves ended the Greek rule in Bactria (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XXIX). See also *Scythian Period*, p. 38.
41. *Strabo*, XI, 8, 2.
42. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp, 124-126 ; W. W, Tarn, *Op.* cit , p. 88.
43. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 264 and 309-310 ; W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, p. 31.
44. *Strabo*, XI, 10, 1-2 ; XI, 11, 1 ; *Ptolemy*, VI, 10, 1 ; VI, 11, 1 ; VI, 17, 1 ; etc.
45. For a general description of Bactria, see *Ptolemy*, VI, 11, 1f.
46. Some scholars, including W.W. Tarn (*Op. cit.*, pp. 222-223) and F. Altheim (F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens in griechischen Zeitalter*, vol. II, pp. 59 f), think that the Parthians at least temporarily occupied Bactria of the Greeks during the reign of Mithridates I. This theory

is based mainly on a statement of Justin (*Justin*, XLI. 6, 3) and the alleged Parthian imitations of some Graeco-Bactrian coins. We have discussed this theory in detail in Chapter II of our monograph *The Chronology of the End of the Greek Rule in Bactria and Sogdiana* (in press), where we have tried to show that the assumption of W. W. Tarn and F. Altheim is not proved either by Justin's statement or by the coins in question. In this connection see Chapter V, sec. G; see also W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 222-223; *NC*, 1924, p. 147; 1951, pp. 16-19; etc. Hence we cannot accept E. R. Bevan's interpretation of Justin XLI, 6, 1f, as suggesting that Mithridates I had extended the Parthian empire on the east at the expense of the Greek dynasties of Bactria (E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* (2nd edition), vol. II. p. 234). We, however, hasten to add that other sources indicate the Parthian sovereign's success against the Greeks outside Bactria proper.

We may note here that Justin refers to contingents from Bactria, Elymais and Persis as having assisted the Seleucid Demetrius (II) against the Parthians (*Justin*, XXXVI, 1, 4). However, no known source suggests that Bactria proper suffered any territorial loss when Demetrius II was captured by Mithridates I (*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1, 5-6; XXXVIII, 9, 2-3; *His. Ad. Pag*, V, 3, 17).

The theory of a Parthian plot against Eucratides (I) (W. W. Tarn, *Op cit.*, p. 220; A. K Narain, *Op. cit*, p 72) is based mainly on *Justin*, XLI, 6, 3f. But Justin never explicitly refers to such a conspiracy. See also B. N. Mukherjee, *The Chronology of the End of the Greek Rule in Bactria and Sogdiana*, ch. II, f.n. 33 (in press).

47. *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 579; *Parthia*, p. 20; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

48. *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 579.

49. The figure of elephant on some coins of Mithridates I (*Coins of Parthia*, pl. II, nos. 10-11) does not necessarily allude to

his Indian conquests (*Parthia*, p. 20, f.n. 87). This animal is not peculiar to India.

50. *SC*, ch. 123 ; *JAOS*, 1917, vol. XXXVII, pp. 99-103 and 121.
51. *CHS*, ch. 61 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 68-70 ; see also above n. 50.
52. H. H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan-ku*, vol. II, p. 45.
53. Chang Ch'ien is also stated to have sent envoys to Ta-hsia and to the Ta Yüeh-chih country, although he himself earlier noted the former's political dependence on the latter (*SC*, ch. 123, p. 5). Continuation of the same political condition (i.e., the dependence of Ta-hsia on the Ta Yüeh-chih) in a later period is indicated by the *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
54. *CCGSK*, pl. VIII, nos. 4-7 ; pl. XII, no. 10.
55. *Numismatic Supplement, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1926-27, no. XL, p. 19 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 114 ; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 188-189 ; etc.
56. It has already been pointed out that on the basis of provenances of the coins of Zoilus I that his territory should be located to the west of the Indus (see A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, p. 114 and f.n. 3).
57. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. VII, no. 525.
58. A. N. Lahiri, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII, no. 8.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-213. It may be noted here that a coin-type of Strato I displays bow and quiver separately (*CCGSK*, pl. XI, no. 2).
60. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. 9, 29, 30, 33, 44, 47, 71 and 86 ; pl. II, no. 13 ; pl. VII, no. 13 ; pl. X, no. 7 ; pl. XIV, no 9 ; etc.
61. *Numismatic Supplement, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1926-27, no. XL, p. 19 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit*, p. 319 ; A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 115 and 181 ; etc.
62 *Parthia*, pp. 40 and 50.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 19 and 29.

64. *Strabo*, XI, 8, 2. We cannot agree with the view of J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw that Strabo's passage in question indicates that the invasions of the nomadic peoples "weakened" (and did not conquer) the Greeks of Bactria (*The Scythian Period*, p. 35). Strabo quite definitely states that these peoples "took away" (and so conquered) Bactriana from the Greeks.

65. *JAOS*, 1941, vol. LXI, pp. 344-345 ; *BSOAS*, 1936, vol. VIII, pp. 884 f ; *ZDMG*, 1937, vol XCI, pp. 235 f ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I, pp. 24-26 ; etc. Whether the Tokharoi and the Yüeh-chih are to be regarded as Scythians or not is a moot point. However, there is nothing wrong in suggesting that since these peoples came from a region associated by classical scholars with the Scythians, they could have been described in early sources as Scythians, even without having racial connection with them.

66. See above n. 18.

67. *SC*, ch. 123, pp. 3 and 5.

68. See above n. 20.

69. *Ptolemy*, VI, 11, 1f. Some scholars do not believe that there was any Scythian invasion of Bactria during the rule of the Greeks (*Pauly*, vol. I, A2, cols. 1788-1789 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 283-299 ; A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 130-133 ; *Bhāratī*, no. II, p. 60). For our criticism of this view see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Chronology of the End of the Greek Rule in Bactria and Sogdiana*, ch. III, f.n. 2 (in press).

70. P. Trogus, *Prologus XLI*, *Historiae Philippicae* (quoted in Justin's *Epitome*). For the justification of our translation, see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Chronology of the End of the Greek Rule in Bactria and Sogdiana*, ch III, sec. D (in press).

71. The Sakarauloi or Sacarauli are sometimes identified with the Saraucae. See W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 284 and 291f ; F. Duebner, *Justini Historiae Philippicae*, p. 368, f. n. 6 ; etc.

72. Justin states, on the authority of Trogus, that Phraates (II) invited the Scythians to assist him against Antiochus (VII) (*Justin*, XLII, I), that the Scythian contingents arrived too late to be of any help (*Ibid.*), and that Antiochus (VII) was victorious in three successive battles and occupied Babylonia (*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 10). A cuneiform text indicates that Babylonia was under Antiochus (VII) on 22 Aiaru in the year 182 (i.e., June 2, 130 B.C) (George A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, text no. 25; *Parthia,* p. 32, f. n. 18). This indicates that Scythian movements within Parthia may have started by that time.

Antiochus (VII) was defeated and killed in or after the winter following his occupation of Babylonia in c. 130 B.C. (*Justin*, XXXVIII, 10). Phraates (II) now planned to invade Syria. However, "the movements of the Scythians diverted him from this expedition". The Scythians "began to ravage the borders of Parthia" (*Ibid.*, XLII, 1), obviously the eastern borders. Thus it appears that the Scythians had begun to cause havoc by c. 130 or c. 129 B.C. Phraates (II) himself was killed in fighting against them (*Ibid.*). The definitely known date of Artabanus II, the successor of Phraates II, is the year 188 (i.e., 124-123 B.C.). Hence Phraates II perished sometime before 124-123 B.C. The date is generally placed in c. 128 B.C. (R. H. McDowell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 183 and 202; *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 581).

For W. W. Tarn's theory that the Scythians crossed the frontiers of Parthia by 130 B.C as indicated by the absence of Phraates II from "the seat of war" (= Babylonia) against Antiochus VII in 130 B.C., see *CAH*, vol. IX, pp. 581-582.

73. Artabanus II was killed in a fight against the Thogarians or Tokharians (*Justin*, XLII, 2). This may indicate a Tokharian incursion into Eastern Parthia and not a Tokharian occupation of a part or the whole of the same region. However, if the Tokharians entered Eastern Parthia on this occasion from across the Oxus and via T.-hsia and Western

Bactria, which was quite probable, then it must be assumed that effective Greek rule in the last mentioned area, or at least in the major part of it, had already come to an end by the time of the death of Artabanus II, placed generally in c. 124-123 B.C. (R. H. McDowell, *Op. cit.*, p 183 ; *Parthia*, p. 38).

74. The name *P'u-t'iao*, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as *b'uok-t'ieu* (A. Herrmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 101, no. 2007), indicates Bactria, and not, as A. Herrmann thinks, the town of Bactra (*Ibid.*, p. 24 ; see also *TP*, 1906, s. II, vol. VII, p. 514). P'u-t'iao = Bactria apparently included, *inter alia*, the area around Bactra. See also above n. 20.
75. *Parthia*, pp. 29 and 37.
76. *Justin*, XLII, 1 ; see also above n. 72.
77. See *Parthia*, pp. 35-37.
78. *Justin*, XLII, 1 ; see also above n. 72.
79. The first Chinese envoy to An-hsi was sent when roughly ten years of the period of Yuan So (beginning in December 129—January 128 B.C.) had elapsed (see above n. 50).
80. *CHS*, ch. 96 A, p. 14.
81. H. L. Jones and J. B. S. Sterrett, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. I, p. XXV.
82. *Strabo*, XI, 9. 2.
83. There are instances of the association of the Scythian people Sacaraucae with Sinatruces (Lucian, *Longaevi*, 15), of the help rendered by the Scythians to Sinatruces (*Justin*, XLII, 5), etc. But no Arsacid monarch of the period concerned other than Mithridates II is recorded to have fought successfully against the Scythians. N. C. Debevois thinks that the reason for Mithridates I's journey to Hyrcania in 141 B. C. was to stem a Scythian invasion (*Parthia*, p. 24). There is, however. no definite evidence in support of this suggestion.

    It should be noted here that we are not considering the Parthians as Scythian. Although Justin indicates their Scythian nationality (*Justin*, XLI, 1), he never implies them while referring to the Scythian invasions of the Arsacid empire. On the question of the homeland of the Arsacids, see P. Philip Lozinski, *The Original Homeland of the Parthians*, pp. 12 f.

84 *Justin*, XLII, 2.

85. We must admit here that if Strabo implies that the Parthians annexed from the Scythians the very same area which had been earlier acquired from Eucratides (I) and which (as noticed above) was outside Bactria proper, then the Arsacids defeated the Scythians in question outside the latter territory. Nevertheless, the allusion in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* to the inclusion of *P'u-t'iao* (at least the western part of Bactria) (see above nn. 20 and 74) in An-hsi (the Arsacid empire) (see below n. 109) by c. 33 B.C. (see below n. 264) may mean that before the date of Strabo's work (c. 7 B.C.) or at least by the time of its revision (c. A.D. 18) a part of Bactria proper had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Arsacids. Bactria proper had been earlier conquered from the Greeks by the Scythian nomads in or by 130-129 B. C. (see above p. 71). Hence Mithridates II, the only successful Arsacid victor of the Scythians in the period between c. 130-129 B. C. and 7 B.C, or A.D. 18, might have wrested from them at least a part of Bactria proper.

86. *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 585 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 281 ; etc.

87. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 568 : *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 584 ; *CII*. vol. II, pt. I, p. XXXVII ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit* , p. 499 ; *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 45 ; etc.

88. Chang Ch'ien's statement that An-hsi "borders the Kuei (*Oxus*) river" and has to its north (*the territory of the*) Yen-ts'ai (the Aorsi near the Aral lake) (*SC*, ch. 123 ; B. Watson, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 268) may imply the inclusion of Merv in Parthia in 130-129 B.C., when he collected his information before reporting to the Chinese emperor (*SC*, ch. 123 ; B. Watson, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 266). We cannot support W.W. Tarn's conjecture that Chang Ch'ien's statement in question reflects the political condition in 115 B.C.

(*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp. 116-119 ; *CAH*, vol. IX, pp. 584-585). Some Parthian coins, the legends of which refer separately to *Katastrateia* (substantive of *Katastrateuomai*, meaning "offensive campaign" ?—*CAH*, IX, p. 585, f. n. 1), Areia (Herat), Margiane (Merv), and Traxiane (A. K. Markaff, *Monnaies Arsacides inédites*, p. 15 and pl. III, no. 15 ; *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1876, vol. III, p. 246 ; *Coins of Parthia*, p. 40 and f.n. 1), may refer to conquest or reconquest of the above territories. W. W. Tarn observes that these coins were struck by the "joint-king" appointed by Mithridates II (*CAH*, vol. IX, p. 585). There is, however, nothing to substantiate this opinion. Moreover, W. Wroth had already pointed out that these pieces should be ascribed to a period well after Mithridats II (*Coins of Parthia*, pp. XXXI-XXXII ; see also *Parthia*, pp. 40-41, f.n. 51 and p. 59). A Simonetta thinks that Aria, Margiane and Traxiane were captured by Orodes I between 87 and 80 B.C. (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 45). R. H. McDowell has assigned the coins in question to Sinatruces (R. H. McDowell, *Op. cit.*, p. 211).

89. It has been claimed that during the reign of Mithridates II Parthia's authority over the ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar was "confirmed" (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 568 ; see also *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XXXVII ; E. Herzfeld, *Sakastan*, pp. 70-80 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 449 ; *CAH*, vol. IX, p. 584 ; etc). However, no really reliable datum has been furnished in support of this claim. For the date of the settlement of the Śakas in Sakastan, see *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 181-200 and 460-464.

90. *Numismatic Circular*, May, 1954, cols. 187-191 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 37 f ; R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Le Trésors monétaire de Qunduz*, *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XX, pp. 9 f ; etc.

91. A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pp. 19-20 ; *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1879, vol. VI, p. 278 ; *CCGSK*,

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pp. LXVII-LXVIII ; *NC*, 1923, pp. 297-298 ; *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 461 and 545 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 792-794, etc.

92. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 38-39 and 47-52 ; R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-47.
93. *Justin*, XLI, 6, 1.
94. *Parthia*, pp. 19 and 29.
95. It is generally assumed that Hermaeus was the last of the kings represented in the Qunduz hoard (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 43-44 ; R. Curiel and G. Fussman , *Op. cit.*, p. 59 ; etc.).
96. It has already been suggested that the Qunduz hoard was interred in the period of the nomadic (Yüeh-chih) invasion of Bactria (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 44 ; R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Op. cit.*, p. 60 ; *BSOAS*, 1966, vol. XXIX, p. 624).
97. *Ptolemy*, VI, 18, 1f.
98. *NC*. 1943, pp. 52-59 ; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 764.
99. E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 561-562 ; J. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 764 ; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 159 ; etc.
100. Some scholars such as S. Konow (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXIII-LXIV), H. C. Raychaudhuri (?) (*PHAI*, p, 461), D. C. Sircar (*AIU*, pp. 118 and 138), J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw (*The Scythian Period*, p. 363), A. Simonetta (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 64), etc., seem to be in favour of associating with the reign of Hermaeus all coins bearing his name. For a criticism of this view, see B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I, pp. 93-94, f.n. 26.
101. In this connection see also *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 4 f.
102. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 507f ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 194f : etc.
103. *Strabo*, XV, 2, 11. The expression *Ariana* probably here denotes *Aria*.
104. The section concerned (*Ibid.*, XV, 2, 11) and the two preceding sections (*Ibid.*, XV, 2, 9-10) actually contain a description of the region of the Paropamisadae. The

statements that "along the Indus are the Paropamisadae, above whom lies the Paropamisus mountain" (*Ibid.*, XV, 2, 9), that "the land of the Paropamisadae, a country which is mountainous" (*Ibid.*, XV, 2, 10), etc., definitely show that our passage refers to the area of the Paropamisadae.

Strabo states that Craterus passed through this country (i.e., the mountainous country) during his expedition to Carmania (*Ibid.*, XV, 2, 11). J. W. McCrindle thought that he had marched from India through Gandhāra (including the Peshawar district), and so identified Gandhāra with Chaarene (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classioal Literature*, p. 90, f. n. 5). This argument is, however, not convincing. Strabo also states that "Craterus setting out from the Hydaspes went through the countries of the Arachoti and of the Drangae into Carmania" (*Strabo*, XV, 2, 5). Hence he may have traversed, *inter alia*, Gandhāra and also the southern part of the country of the Paropamisadae in course of his march from the Hydaspes to Arachosia. So the mountainous country of Strabo's passage may well denote the land of the Paropamisadae. Chaarene, included in "the mountainous country", was only a town or a small place and not, as J. W. McCrindle thought, a district (or country ?) (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 90. f. n. 5).

105. *Strabo*, XV, 2, **11** ; see also *Ibid.*, XI, 9, 1f.

106. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

107. *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 192.

108. *HHS*, ch. 118 ; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 177-179.

109. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 139-143. The term *An-hsi*, believed to have been pronounced as **ân-si̯ᵊk* in Archaic Chinese and also in Ancient Chinese (E. Zürcher, The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in the Chinese Sources, *PCDK*, p. 18 ; *Karlgren*, nos. 4 and 780), points to the name *Arsak*. Arsak(es) was the founder of the Parthian kingdom, which later grew up into an empire. Hence the word *An-hsi*, used in a geographical sense, should denote the territory of the Arsacids.

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No doubt, W. W. Tarn thinks that the name *An-hsi* originally denoted Antioch-Merv. Merv is called Mu-lu and also Little An-hsi in the *Hou Han-shu.* Nevertheless, W. W. Tarn also admits that to the author of the *Hou Han-shu,* Parthia (denoting the Parthian empire) was a derivative meaning of the term concerned (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 281, f.n. 5).

110. Many scholars believe that the Kushāṇas (who formed a part of the Yüeh-chih people) conquered the Kabul area from the Indo-Parthians (F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 194, f.n. 1 ; E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 561-562 : S. Konow, *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. LXII ; J. N. Banerjea, *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 226-227 ; etc.).

111. *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 193-194.

112. *Justin*, XLI, 6.

113. It is quite clear from the context that the "Parthians" of Justin's statement means the Arsacids (*Justin*, XLI, 1f). Some scholars are wrong in taking, implicitly or explicitly, the term "Parthian" as denoting the Indo-Parthians. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw has incorrectly assumed that Justin's passage refers to the destruction of the Hellenic rule in Bactria (*The Scythian Period*, p. 35). See above n. 64.

114. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

115. See above nn. 23, 24, 25 and 27.

116. *Bégram*, p. 88-93 and 95-97 ; pl. XXII, nos. 1-5 and 7. A. Simonetta has shown that R. Ghirshman was not right in attributing to Kujula the coins which actually refer to Orodes II. Again, Ghirshman wrongly ascribed to Spalirises a piece of Phraates IV (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, pp. 165-166).

117. *Ibid.*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 166. See also below n. 118.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166, pl. I, nos. 2-30 ; *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XI, nos. 4-5 ; pl. XXI, nos. 5-6. D. G. Sellwood thinks that the silver coins attributed by W. Wroth to Sinatruces (*Coins of Parthia*, p. 42) should be assigned to Orodes I (*NC*, 1962, pp. 80-81).

119. *East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 166.

120. A. Simonetta thinks that the rulers, who re-struck the coins of the group in question, also overstruck some coins, jointly issued by Tanlismaidates and Raggodeme and originally minted at Alexandria Arion or Artacoana (*Ibid*., pp. 165-166). However, there is a fundamental difference between the two groups of species. The second group is apparently not connected with the Parthian emperors, whereas the first group, with which we are concerned, is definitely related to the Imperial Parthian coinage. Moreover, unlike the over-struck pieces of the Imperial Parthians, we cannot definitely locate the place of origin or of re-striking of the coins of Tanlismaidates and Raggodeme. A. Cunningham was under the impression that the latter coins belonged to "the country on the Oxus" (*NC*, 1889, p. 356). One coin is made known by a collector from the Punjab region, and three others are now in the Hackin cabinet in Paris (*NC*, 1950, p. 219). The coins collected by J. Hackin might have been discovered in Afghanistan. The paucity of known pieces and their wide distribution do not permit us to determine confidently their place of origin.

Several of the countermarked Arsacid coins or their imitations found their way to the British Museum cabinet from the collections of A. Cunningham, C. J. Rodgers and the India Office Library (*Coins of Parthia*, pp. 49-50 and 114). Five drachms of Phraates III (including imitations ?), now in the cabinet of Mr. N. Singh Singhi of Calcutta, are acquired from the collection of C. F. S. Martin. As the collections in question are mainly made of coins found in India and its borderlands, they need not necessarily be referred to Aria (see also *Coins of Parthia*, p. 114, f. n. 1).

These considerations do not allow us to accept A. Simonetta's suggestion. P. Gardner thinks that the counter-struck bust on coins of Phraates IV resembles the bust on coins of Sapadbizes, who ruled in Bactria (*Coins of Parthia*, p. 114, f. n. 1). But the resemblance between the busts (*Ibid*., pl, XXI, 3-6 ; *CCGSK*, pl XXIV, no. 14) is not so great as to warrant the identification of Sapadbizes with the counter-striker.

121. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. 49 and 114 ; *Bégram*, p. 88 ; see also above n. 91. It is interesting to note that an imitation (?) of a coin-type of Phraates III (or of Sinatruces ?) (*NC*, 1962, pp. 81-82), which is, however, not counter-struck, weighs 2·45 grm. (R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XIV, p. 85).
122. *Parthia*, pp. 52-53.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 147 and 270; *Coins of Parthia*, p. 99.
124. Archaeological discoveries indicate that Begram was an international market (R. E. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, 1955, pp. 193-194). The *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, p. 9 refers to the commercial prosperity of the people of the Kao-fu or the Kabul country, whose territory may have included the Begram region. Hence the coins in question could well have been imported into that area by way of trade.
125. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1879, vol. VI, p. 355 and pl. V, no 2 ; *CCGSK*, p. XXXII, f.n. 12 ; *NC*, 1940, p. 118 and pl. VIII, no. 7 ; 1963, p. 38 and pl. XXII, no. 1.
126. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. II, no. 13 ; pl. III, no. 6 ; pl. VII, nos. 1 and 13 ; pl. X, nos. 5, 7 and 14 ; p. 47 ; pl. XIV, no. 9 ; pl. XVI, no. 9. The bow on the coins of Mithridates I is not stringed (*Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 13). The horse on the pieces of Orodes I seems to be standing and not prancing (*Ibid*, pl. XVI, no. 9).
127. *NC*, 1890, pl. V, no. 15.
128. *Parthia*, p. 170.
129. *NC*, 1890, p 167.
130. *Coins of Parthia*, pll. II-III, VI-VIII, X-XI, and XIV-XVIII.
131. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. I, nos. 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, 15, etc. See also *NC*, 1940, p. 118, f.n. 1.
132. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIV, no. 7. In this connection see also *JAOS*, 1941, vol. LXI, p. 233.

133. *CCGSK*, pl. XVI, no. 3.

134. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, no. 12. For the cursive form of *omega* on coins of Spalirises, see *Ibid.*, pl. XXII, no. 2.

135. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIV, no. 397.

136. It appears that A. Cunningham was wrong in asserting that the lunate sigma on the coins in question "shows conclusively" that the issuer "must have been later than Moas and Azes" (*NC*, 1890, p. 122 ; see also 1963, p. 39).

137. *NC*, 1963, pl. XXII, no. 2 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. V. R. B. Whitehead wrongly attributed this coin to Arsakes Theos (*NC*, 1963, p. 38). The figures of horse on these two varieties of coins may be compared with the appearance of that animal on some copper pieces of Hermaeus (*CCGSK*, pl. XV, no. 8 ; *NC*, 1940, p. 119).

138. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1961), p. 20.

139. *PMC*, vol I, pl. XIV, no. 394.

140. It may be added here that the square copper piece under discussion came to the British Museum from Kandahar (*NC*, 1963, p. 39).

141. For types and legends of the coins of Vonones and his associates, see A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Coin Types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, pp, 3-5. Please note that the reference to the legend in type 3 of the coins of Spalirises is given wrongly (p. 5). The correct references should be (a) for the legend on the obverse and (d) for that on the reverse (*see NC*, 1890, pl. VII, no. 9). The names *Spalahora* and *Spalagadama* have been read also as *Śpalahora* and *Śpalagadama* respectively (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 143 ; *CCIM*, vol. I, p. 42). Though the conjunct letter *śpa*, and not *spa*, is noticeable on several (if not all ?) of the relevant coins, we have retained the generally accepted forms of the names (*CCGSK*, pp. 98-100 ; *CCIM*, vol. I, p. 35 ; *JRAS*, 1906, p. 209 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 201 ; etc.). The Kharoshṭhī legends of the coins of Spalirises spell his name as *Spaliriśa* (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 143 and pl. XIV, no. 397 ; see also *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 2).

142. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

143- *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 3.

144. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 4 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 3. The evidence of overstriking a coin of Spalyris and Spalagadama with a type of Spalirises demolishes the theory of the identification of Spalirises with Spalyris (*The Scythian Period*, p. 347).

145. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 92 ; *The Scythian Period*, pp. 346-347 ; etc. *SPALYRIOS* occurs in certain Greek and *SPALAHORA*—in some Kharoshṭhī coin-legends. It can be argued that the nominative singular form of the stem of the expression *SPALYRIOS* is *SPALYPIS*. It is perhaps possible to assume also a philological relation between the forms *Spalyr(is)* and *Spalahora* [*Spalahora*>*Spalaöra* (cf. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 159)>*Spalora* (see W. W. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar* (1965), p. 15)>*Spalyr(is)* ?].

146. The fact that a type of Spalirises was struck over a device of Vonones (and Spalahora) does not necessarily indicate them as enemies of each other. The Hūṇa king Mihirakula re-struck some coins of his father (?) Toramāṇa. Spalirises could well have been a brother of Vonones. Alternatively, the expression "brother of the king" may have been only a title (alluding to affiliation to the reigning monarch) and not an indication of any blood relationship (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 345 ; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 48).

A. Simonetta argues that (a) the description of Spalyris as a king's brother on the coins struck jointly with Spalagadama, (b) the absence of the name of Vonones from the legends on these coins, (c) the identity of their type with that of some bronze pieces of Azes I and of Azilises, and finally (d) the reference on some coins to Spalirises, who was destined to become later the Śaka king of kings, as a king's brother, should indicate that Spalyris and Spalirises were vassals of a Śaka king other than Vonones. A. Simonetta thinks that this Śaka sovereign was Maues (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 46).

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These arguments are hardly convincing. It is not necessary to hold the view that an overlord's name should occur on his vassal's coins. The coins of satrap Zeionises do not bear the name of his overlord. Moreover, if the legends on the coins of Spalyris and Spalagadama do not state the king's name as Vonones, they do not mention the name of Maues either, Again, the identity of the type of the joint coinage of Spalyris and Spalagadama with that of some of the issues of Azes I and of Azilises can never prove that Spalyris served Maues. Also there is no evidence to connect Spalirises only with the Śakas, and not generally with the Iranians (*JRAS*, 1906, p. 209). Finally, the authority of Maues was never recognised in Arachosia (Appendix III).

147. For legends and types of coins of this group, see A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-15.

148. Aza>*Aja*>*Aya*. (It may be noted here that the name has been referred to as *Aja* in the Kalawan inscription of the year 134 and as *Aya* in the Taxila inscription of the year 136). Similarly we can postulate the philological development *Azilis*(es)>*Ajilisha*>*Ayilisha*. See also *JRAS*, 1906, pp 205 and 208.

149. See D. R. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, *os*, 1897-1900, vol. XX, pp. 284-286 ; V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, vol.I, pp. 43f.

150. See V. A Smith, *CCIM*, vol. I, pp. 43f.

151. See J. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 131.

152. See N. G. Majumdar, *ASI*, *AR*, 1928-29, pp. 169-174.

153. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 1-3.

154. This conclusion compels us to reject all theories advocating the existence of only one Azes and the identification of that ruler with Azilises. (See G. Hoffmann, "Auszüge aus syrischen Akten presischer Märtyrer", *AKM*, 1880, vol.VII, no 3, p. 142; F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 208 ; J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 347-349). R. B. Whitehead (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 93) and A. S. Altekar (*American Numismatic Society Centennial Volume*, pp. 45-53) criticised the theory of the rule of a second Azes. For a criticism of A. S. Altekar's paper, see A. Simonetta, *East and West*, 1958,

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vol. IX, pp. 167-168. Once S. Konow ascribed all Azes coins to one Azes only (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XL). However, later he changed his opinion (*JIH*. 1933, vol. XII, p. 24).

155. The mother tongue of the Indo-Greeks must have been Greek. For inscribing the important official products like coins, the Imperial Parthians almost exclusively used the Greck language. The Scytho-Parthians of the Indo-Iranian borderlands living under the influence of the Indo-Greek administrative system, probably treated the Greek language as the most important official language.

156. *NC*, 1890, pp. 107 and 139.

157. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 3. p.

158. We must reject E. J. Rapon's indentification of Azes of Spalirises/Azes coins with Azes II (*CHI*, vol I, p. 573). J. Marshall has pointed out that a peculiar figure of Zeus appears on silver coins of Vonones and Spalahora (Spalyris), of Vonones and Spalagadama, of Spalirises, of Spalirises and Aya (=Azes), and of Azes I. All these coins are products of the Arachosian mint and have on the reverse "the king on horse back holding a spear" and on the reverse "the figure of Zeus holding a thunderbolt." The peculiar depiction of the figure of Zeus, which can be seen on the coins referred to here, is not noticed on the Arachosian species of Azilises. If E. J. Rapson's identification was correct, the peculiar figure of Zeus should have appeared on some coins of Azilises as well, for in that case he should have struck his pieces before the minting of Spalirises/Aya (=Azes II) coins (*Taxila*, vol. I. pp. 49-50).

It should, however, be noted here that J. Marshall was wrong in thinking that E. J. Rapson had placed Azes I and Azilises before Vonones (*Taxila*, vol, I. p. 50). In fact, E. J. Rapson considered Vonones as a contemporary of the other two rulers (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 573).

For other arguments in support of the opinion adopted by us, see *Taxila*, vol, I, p. 50.

159. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 5-8.

160. *Taxila*, vol. II. p, 781 ; *PMC*, vol. I, p. 130. The conjunct

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letter deciphered as *ndra* may also be read as *tra* (Bühler, *table*, I, col. IX).

161. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 150.
162. *NS*, 1910, vol. XIV, p. 82 ; *PMC*, vol. I, p. 150, f.n. 1 ; see also above n. 160.
163. Tray no. Aśpavarman 60—coins nos. Whitehead—3001 and 3599 ; Talbot—2, 4 and 6 ; etc.
164. *NC*, 1944, p. 102 ; see also above n. 160.
165. *NC*, 1944, p. 100, figs. 2 and 3 ; see also *NC*, 1890, pl. XV, no. 8.
166. Tray Aśpavarman 64—coins nos. Cunningham 674 and 1638.
167. *NC*, 1944, p. 100.
168. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 20 ; *Taxila*, vol. III, pl. 241, nos. 201-208.
169. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 148.

169a. A. L. Basham, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 84-86. The results of A. L. Basham's study ("The Average Length of the Generation and the Reign in Ancient India") may be in a way supported by certain facts not noticed by him. For an example we can point out that five Kushāṇa monarchs (Kanishka I, Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudeva I) reigned within a period of about 98 years (of the Kanishka Era). This evidence assigns an average of 19$\frac{3}{5}$ years to the reign of each king.

169b. In fact 50 B.C. seems to have been too late a date for the commencement of the rule of Vonones, unless we believe, without any reason, that the group of Azes I reigned for an abnormally short period.

170. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 569 ; *AIU*, p. 123 ; see also *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 45.
171. See below n. 172.
172. According to J. Marshall, Vonones was recognised as the suzerain of Taxila at least for a short time. The same scholar has pointed out that some coins, issued jointly by Vonones and Spalahora, and a few others, minted by

Spalyris and Spalagadama, have been found in Taxila (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 51 ; vol. II, pp. 782 and 807). However, the coins in question are definitely the products of the Arachosian mint (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 2). They were probably imported into Taxila by way of commerce. The smallness of their number (*Taxila*, vol. II, p. 807) may also indicate such an inference.

Some scholars want to see in the name of Wu-t'o-lao, described in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* as a king of Chi-pin, a reference to Spalyris (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 341 f ; *Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 48-49 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 35-36). It is claimed that the expression *Wu-t'o-lao* should stand for *Adelphos*, the stem of the form *Adelphou* appearing on coins of Spalyris. But *Wu-t'o-lao*, pronounced as °*o-d'u-log* in Archaic Chinese and °*uo-d'*^{ə}*u-lâu* in Ancient Chinese (E. Zürcher, The Yüeh-Chih and Kaniṣka in the Chinese Sources, *PCDK*, p. 18, no. Y), cannot be equated with the word *Adelphos* with absolute certainty. Moreover, we do not know the exact date of the story of Wu-t'o-lao, who may have lived in any period between the inauguration of communication between China and Chi-pin during the reign of Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) and the end of the rule of Yuen-te (48-33 B.C.) (See *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 35-36). Hence Wu-t'o-lao cannot be identified with a ruler known from other sources. Consequently the theories of W. W. Tarn and J. Marshall, based on this piece of Chinese evidence, cannot be regarded as convincing.

W. W. Tarn has postulated that Spalyris and Spalagadama and also Spalirises belonged to the Parsioi (or Parsii) people of the country of the Paropanisadai (or Parcpomisadae) mentioned by Ptolemy (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 332 ; *Ptolemy*, VI, 18, 3). W. W. Tarn, however, could not cite a single source suggesting such a relationship. E. J. Rapson (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 574) and W. W. Tarn (*Op. cit.*, p. 350) think that the coins of Spalirises carrying the "Zeus enthroned" type indicate his authority over the Kapiśa (Begram) region. This theory is unacceptable, since R. B.

Whitehead has shown that the device need not necessarily be considered as a characteristic type of Kapiśa (*NC*, 1947, pp. 28-32 ; 1950, pp. 205-206 and 210). No doubt, this type, obviously copied from some Indo-Greek coins (*CCGSK*, pl. XV, nos. 1-7), may indicate the success of Spalirises in some area lying in or near Arachosia and having been once under the Indo-Greeks. However, that locality was not necessarily the Kapiśa region in the Kabul Valley.

In fact, C. Masson found only three coins of Spalirises in the Kapiśa (Begram) area (*JASB*, 1836. p. 537 : *NC*, 1890, p. 109). The piece from Begram, which has been attributed to Spalirises by R. Ghirshman (*Bégram*, pp. 88f), is actually a coin of Sinatruces overstruck by someone else. No doubt, H. H. Wilson remarked that the coins of Spalirises (the name of whom is written by him as Palirisus) "although not very rare, not very numerous, and are of limited discovery, being found chiefly about Kabul" (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 316). This statement is, however, wrong. During the three years of search C. Masson procured only three coins from Begram in the Kabul valley (*NC*, 1890, p. 109).

On the other hand, a good number of coins of the family of Vonones, including those of Spalirises, have been found at Kandahar (*Ibid.*). The theory that Arachosia (including Kandahar and Ghazni) was the chief centre of the rule of the house of Vonones is further supported by the contents of the hoards found in the regions of Chaman (not far from Kandahar) and Mir Zakah (near Ghazni).

173. *Parthia*, p. 270.
174. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 209.
175. The theory of Vonones' vassalage (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 344-346 ; *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 45), though an attractive one, is not substantiated by any definite datum. A. Simonetta observes that the Arsacid emperor Orodes (II) started preliminary operations against the Roman provinces in the years 52 and 51 B.C. by a series of raids. "But when, in 50 B.C., the real invasion was expected, nothing happened. Rumours reached Cicero and

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others of a serious revolt in the Arsacid empire. It is at this time, as no other time is possible, that Vonones of Sakastene declared himself "king of kings" (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 45). A. Simonetta, however, does not cite any evidence in support of his hypothesis.

176. See also above n. 146.
177. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 2-3.
178. In this connection see also *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 571-574.
179. Isidore of Charax, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 19.
180. *CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 23.
181. *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 23.
182. Only twice in the account of Chapter 96A (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 11 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 36-37 and 42-43), and in only a few places of Chapter 96B (*CHS*, ch. 96B ; *JAI*, 1882, vol. XI, pp. 93, 94, 99, 100, 109, 110 and 112), which also deals with "western regions", we may find incidents datable after 33 B.C. The very insignificant number of the notices of such events may betray the author's unsuccessful attempts to make up-to-date the data collected from the chief repository of his knowledge, viz., the report of c. 33 B.C.

That the information on "western countries", furnished in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, does not cover all events up to A.D. 25, the year up to which the treatise as a whole intends to deal with while narrating the history of the former Han Dynasty, is also indicated by an evidence of the *Wei-Lüeh*. This text was composed in about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. It is lost and is known from its passages quoted in Pei Sung-chih's commentary on the *San-kuo-chih* published in A.D. 429. One such passage states that "anciently under the Han emperor Ai, in the first year of Yüan-shou (i.e., 2 B.C.), the student at the Imperial Academy Ching Lu received from I-Ts'un, the envoy of the king of the Great Yüeh-chih, oral instructions in (a) Buddhist *sūtra(s)*" (*Wei-chih*, ch. 30, p. 29 b quoting the Hsi-jung chuan of the *Wei-lüeh* ; see *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 546 for a different translation). This statement does not appear in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*. It should, however, be recorded here that some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this information (E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, vol. I, p. 25).

183. *CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. I, p. 38.

184. Wu-yi-shan-li of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* had P'u-t'iao to its north (*CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. I, p. 38). We have already identified P'u-t'iao with Bactria or at least Western Bactria around Bactra (see above n. 74). So Wu-yi-shan-li, situated to its immediate south, may be placed in Sakastan or the Seistan area. The expression *Wu-yi-shan-li* is probably based on the term *Alexandria* (*TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 555, f.n. 6), a city of which name is included by Isodore of Charax in Sakastana (*Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 18). Paraitakene mentioned by him as an alternative name of Sakastana (sec. 18), may' be connected with the name *P'ai-chih*. *P'ai-chih* is noted in the *Hou Han-shu* as the second name of Wu-yi-shan-li (ch. 118 ; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 175-176). This name may be considered to have been phonetically related to *Para(i)ta*, traceable in the expression *Paraitakene* (A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, pp. 100, no. 1836).

185. See above n. 109.

186. In this connection see W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, part I and pp. 257-259.

187. Arsacid coins, including one of Sinatruces (?), have been found in Baluchistan (*JRAS*, 1877, p. 130 ; *NC*, 1904, pp. 314-315 ; A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Baluchistan*, p. 76). These pieces, the number of which is not known to have been large, could have been drifts. Hence their evidence cannot help us in determining the period or periods of Arsacid influence in the area now included in Baluchistan (West Pakistan). In this connection see also n. 263.

188. Rollin and Feuardent, *Catalogue de Médailles*, 1862, p. 563, no. 8296 ; *NC*, 1890, p. 167 and pl. XIV, nos. 11-12 (referred to also in *CCGSK*, p. 174) ; *NC*. 1963, p. 41 and pl. XXII, no. 4.

189. *NC*, 1963, p. 41 and pl. XXII, no. 5.
190. See above nn. 188 and 189.
191. *NC*, 1890, pl. XIV. no. 11 ; 1963, pl. XXII, no 5. The word transcribed by us as *tratarasa* has been read by some scholars as *tradatasa* (*NC*. 1890, p. 167 ; *CCGSK*, p. 174 ; *NC*, 1963, p. 41).
192. *CCGSK*, pl. XX, no. 3.
193. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII. no. 12. See also A K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 21.
194. *Taxila*, vol. III, pl. 241, no. 182.
195. *NC*, 1963, pl. XXII, no. 3.
196. *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 13. R. B. Whitehead compares the treatment of the Arsakes Dikaios coins with that of a class of coins of Abdagases carrying identical devices (*NC*, 1940, p. 119). But the appearance of Zeus on the latter pieces (*PMC*, pl. XV, no. 64) is somewhat different from that of his representation on the Arsakes Diakaios coins.
197. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 8-20.
198. See also *NC*, 1963, pp. 62-64. It is interesting to note that the word *jayatasa*, appearing on two pieces of Arsakes Dikaios, can also be noticed on the coins issued jointly by Azes II and Aśpavarman and also on those struck jointly by Gondophares I and Aśpavarman (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XII, no. 317 ; pl. XV, no. 35).
199. See also *NC*, 1963, p. 44.
200. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. 276f.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 277 ; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1915, vol. XXXV, pp. 28, 30 and 41-42. The expression *Basileuontos Basileon*, meaning "in the reign of king of kings", implies a sovereign status and, unlike the supposition of W. W. Tarn (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 354), does not indicate lack of complete independence (see also *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 66).
202. Whether our interpretation of the evidence of the Arsakes Dikaios coinage is acceptable or not, the legible portion of the legend on a coin published by R. G. Bartlett in *NC*, 1963 (pl. XXII, no, 5) proves that A. Simonetta was wrong

in thinking that there was no coin-legend referring to Arsakes Dikaios (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 47). Our discussion also shows that the coinages of Arsakes Theos and Arsakes Dikaios should be ascribed to two different periods (see also A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22).

203. Isidore of Charax, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 19.

204. The *Periplus* speaks of Scythia (to be placed on the lower Indus) as "ruled by the Parthian princes who are constantly expelling one another" (sec. 38). It is not at all necessary to believe that these princes belonged to the Arsacid dynasty. They may well have been members of the group of Parthian or Scytho-Parthian ruler Gondophares I (see Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 167 and our article in *JAS*, 1967, vol. IX).

205. *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, pp. 181 f ; see also Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 167 and our article in *JAS*, 1967, vol. IX.

206 *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 155-156 ; A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16 ; etc. The forms, not recorded in these books, can be noticed on several British Museum specimens. The letter read by R. B. Whitehead and others as *ph* should be correctly transcribed as *vh* (see *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XII, no. 1 and p. 62).

207. According to S. Konow and J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, the names *Orthagnes* and *Gondophares* refer to one and the same person. S. Konow has observed that on the coins bearing both the names titles of same import are ascribed to them (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XLVI). J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw considers *Orthagnes* to be a surname or a title of Gondophares (I). She thinks that such an explanation is suggested by the facts that the word *Orthagnes*, corresponding to the Persian *Verethragna*, means "victorious", and that the term *Gondophares* is the same as the Persian *Vindapharna*, denoting "the winner of majestic glory" (*The Scythian Period*, p. 360).

These arguments are hardly convincing. On the pieces struck jointly by Azilises and Azes II they are given titles of same significance, and yet they were different persons. This evidence may at best indicate, as A. L. Basham has observed, only joint monarchy (*BSOAS*, 1953, vol. XV, p. 88). In our case these titles probably suggest associate rulership. Again, similarity between or even identity of the meanings of two words cannot by itself prove that they refer to one and the same person. The relationship between the Gupta monarchs Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta was that of a father and his son, even though their names had a common significance. Moreover, the imports of the words *Verethragna* (*Vərəthragna-* and *Vərəthragnya* meaning respectively "god of victory" and "victorious") and *Vindapharna* (i. e., *Viⁿdafarnah-*, meaning "finder of the glory") are not identical (C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 1421, 1422 and 1442 ; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar Texts Lexicon* (2nd edition), p. 208).

According to J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, the coins bearing the names of Orthagnes and Gondophares (I) were issued in the closing years of the latter's rule. This opinion is based on the hypothetical similarity between these pieces and those of Pakores, supposed to be the immediate successor of Gondophares (I), and on the fact that the coins in question bear the lunate *sigma*, which is considered to be the final form of that letter (*The Scythian Period*, p. 361).

The alleged similarity between the coins in question is not supported by hard facts. No doubt, Nike appears on the reverse of both classes of coins. But so she does on the Arachosian coins of all rulers belonging to the group of Orthagnes. So also the similarity between the busts on the obverse of respective classes is not greater than what might be expected between those of two persons wearing similar dresses and having the same hair-style (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, nos. 72, 76, etc.). It may also be noted that the style of the hair in the portrait-busts on the coins of Orthagnes from Seistan resembles more closely that in the portrait-busts of Gondophares I than that in the representations of Pakores (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pl. 4, nos. 1-6). Again, it is not at all certain whether Pakores and not Sasan or/and Abdagases was or were the immediate successor or successors of Gondophares I. Hence, there may have been an interval between the minting of the joint coinage of Orthagnes and Gondophares I (and Gaḍa) and that of the pieces of Pakores. Lunate *sigma* appears on some coins of Gondophares I, which may have been among his earliest issues as the sole monarch (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 151). This makes the dating of the coins of Orthagnes and Gondophares I immediately before those struck independently by Gondophares I quite probable. These considerations do not allow us to support J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw's hypothesis.

208. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 228 ; *CII*. vol. II, pt. I, p. XLV and f.n. 2 ; C. Bartholomae, *Op. cit.*, col. 1422. Several coins of different types bear on the reverse the genitive singular forms of *Ga*(or *gra*)*davharna* or *Guduvhara* or *Gadaphara*, etc., and on the obverse the forms *Yndopherrou*, or *Gondopharou*, or *Yuduph*(*e*)*rr*(*ou*), or *Gondophar*(or *l ?*)*ou*, etc. (see A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 16 with necessary corrections ; see also above n. 206).

209. *NC*, 1950, pp. 223-225, no. 16. The evidence of this coin finally rejects the theory of J. F. Fleet (quoted in *PMC*, vol. I, p. 155, f. n. 1) and S. Konow (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XLVI) which interprets the forms *Gaḍa*, *Guḍa*, etc., as denoting the tribe to which Gondophares (I) belonged.

210. See also *CHI*, p. 578 ; L. de La Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tche*, *L'Histoire du Monde*, vol. VI (I), p. 268 ; *PHAI*, p. 452 ; *AIU*, p. 128 ; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Śakas in India*, p. 26 ; J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 129 ; etc.

The alleged similarity between the Orthagnes/Gondophares coins and the species of Pakores, whom J. Allan apparently accepted as the successor of Gondophares (I), led that scholar to observe that Orthagnes was not a predecessor of Gondophares (I) in the post of the supreme ruler but was only the latter's governor. J. Allan apparently placed this governorship in the closing period of the reign of Gondophares (I) (*CSHI*, p. 70).

This hypothesis is hardly acceptable, since the alleged similarity between the classes of coins in question is not so great as to warrant such a conclusion (n. 207). Moreover, Orthagnes had his own independent coinage bearing imperial titles. This certainly shows that at least for some time Orthagnes ruled as an independent imperial monarch (*A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, Op. cit.*, p. 15. For J. Allan's doubts about the reliability of his own theory, see *CSHI*, p. 70).

According to R. B. Whitehead, the "bust : enthroned king" type of the coinage of Orthagnes indicates him as the successor of Gondophares (I) in the western region of his empire (*NC*, 1950, pp. 225f). However, of the names of Orthagnes and Gondophares I, that of the former seems to occupy the more important place in the legends of their joint coinage, and this should indicate him as a senior to the latter ruler. Hence it is unlikely that Orthagnes was the successor of Gondophares I.

D. W. MacDowall has recently tried to postulate a hypothesis that Orthagnes ruled some time after Gondophares the Great (I). According to D. W. MacDowall, the Arachosian coins of Gondophares (I) (showing the king's face turned to right) are struck on a weight standard between 9 and 10 gms., and the Arachosian pieces of Abdagases "show a point of concentration in the frequency table at 8·5 gm., those of Orthagnes between 8 and 8·5 gm., and those of Pakores between 7·5 and 8 gm." D. W. MacDowall observes that Gondophares (I) used old forms of *Omega*, square *Sigma* and square *Omicron*, whereas Abdagases, Orthagnes and Pakores used cursive forms of these letters. On the Arachosian coins Gondophares (I) and Abdagases are given only the title *Soteros*, while Orthagnes and Pakores are described as *Basileus Basileon*. Gondophares (I) and Abdagases have right-facing portraits on their

Arachosian coins, whereas Orthagnes and Pakores have left-facing portraits on their pieces struck in the same area. Kharoshṭhī letters as mint-control marks were never utilised by Gondophares (I), and were only occasionally used by Abdagases. Such marks, however, always appear on the coins of Orthagnes and Pakores minted in Arachosia.

These arguments suggest, according to D. W. MacDowall, that Gondophares (I) was followed by Abdagases, Orthagnes and Pakores in the same chronological order (*NC*, 1965, pp. 141-143).

There are certain flaws in the above arguments. The weight of several Arachosian coins of Gondophares I, now in the British Museum, varies from 8·10 to 9 gms. (*Cunningham*, 1566, 1573, etc.). On the other hand, the number of the known coins of Orthagnes, so far examined by scholars, is not so great as to allow us to be sure that he followed a weight standard slightly lower than that adopted by Gondophares I. Several other factors (such as continuous circulation in a short period, natural wear and tear, defect in production, etc.) often reduced the intended weight of a coin.

Lunate *sigma* and round *omicron* appear on a few Arachosian coins of Gondophares I (pl. III, no. 16 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 11, etc.), while the cursive form of *omega* can be noticed on some of his pieces struck at other mints (*Ibid*., pl. XXII, no. 8 ; in this connection see also *JAOS*, 1941, vol. LXI, pp. 232-233 ; *The Scythian Period*, p. 378, fig. 29 ; etc.). It is also instructive to note that among the Imperial Parthian species (which certainly influenced the Seistan types of Orthagnes as well as Gondophares I) several pieces of Vonones I carrying a mint-mark bear cursive *omega*, round *omicron* and lunate *sigma*, whereas some coins of his successor Artabanus III displaying the identical mint-mark show the old form of *omega*, square *omicron* and square *sigma* (*Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIV, no. 7 ; pl. XXV, no. 7).

The expression *Basileos Basileon Megas* appears on Scytho-Parthian coins of the Indian borderlands from a time long before any conceivable date for either Gondophares I or Orthagnes (*CCGSK*, pp. 68, 73, 92, 98, 101, etc.). In fact, the title *Basileos Basileon* may be noticed on the Arachosian coins of Vonones and Spalahora, of Vonones and Spalagadama and of Spalirises (*Ibid.*, pp. 98, 99, 101, etc.), who must have ruled before the group of Orthagnes. So it would not have been unnatural for Orthagnes, if he reigned before Gondophares I, to inscribe the title *Basileus Basileon* on the dies of his Arachosian coinage. (See also below n. 240).

Direction of faces in the busts on the coins in question may not be of great significance. On coins of both Orthagnes and Gondophares I, attributed to Seistan, the busts face to left (proper right) (*NC*, 1950, p. 225 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XXXII, no. 10 ; *Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, no. XII, p. 126, no. 2585 and pl. 27, no. 2585 ; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1965, pp. 66-67 ;etc.).

Absence of mint-marks from the Arachosian coins of Gondophares I, in contrast to their presence on the Arachosian pieces of Orthagnes, does not necessarily place the former before the latter. The "bust : king holding bow and sceptre" coins of Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.) carry the insignia of a mint, whereas some coins of Vonones I (7/8-12 A.D.), having the identical types and apparently produced from the same mint, do not bear any mint-mark (*Coins of Parthia*, pl. XX, no. 2 ; pl. XXIV, no. 5).

Thus the arguments put forward by D. W, MacDowall cannot substantiate his hypothesis. The greatest impediment to such a theory is the evidence of the coins referring to Orthagnes in the Greek legend on obverse and to Gudavhara and Gadana (or Gaḍa) in the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse. We have already seen that these coins indicate Orthagnes as senior to Gondophares and Gadana or Gaḍa (see above p. 99). Another class of coins indicate Gadana (or Gaḍa) as a subordinate to Gondophares I (see above p. 99).

D. W. MacDowall's attempt to identify Gondophares of these groups of coins with a second ruler of that name (*NC*, 1965, pp. 140 and 143) is rather unwarranted. The *Acts of St. Thomas* speaks of one Gad (mentioned as Gadon in one of the Ethiopian versions) as a brother (i.e., having the honour to be called as a brother ?) of Gūdnaphar (referred to as Goundophoros in the Greek version), a king of India. This portion of the evidence of the *Acts of St. Thomas* is acceptable, since certain coins do refer to an association of Gadana or Gaḍa with Gondophares (see above pp. 98-99). One of the Ethiopic recensions of the *Acts of St. Thomas* alludes to the rule of Gondapor (Gondophares) in "the country of India" apparently included in or contiguous to another territory also called "the country of India". (E. A. W. Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostle*, vol. II, pp. 406-419 ; in this connection see also our article on the *Acts of St. Thomas* in the *East*, 1967, vol. I, no. 2). In the early centuries of the Christian Era the term *India* denoted not only the Indian subcontinent, but sometimes also a part of the lower Indus country (*Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, 1966, August, vol. I, no. 3, p. 5). Coins attributable to that area indicate the existence of only one Gondophares, identifiable with Gondophares I (see our article in *JAS*, 1967, vol. IX). These data suggest the identification of Gūdnaphar and Gad of the *Acts of St. Thomas* with Gondophares I and Gaḍa of coins. Hence Gondophares, who was once a junior to Orthagnes, should be identified with Gondophares I.

We, however, hasten to add that we do not contradict the probability of the existence of a second Gondophares. Certain bronze coins, struck on the standard of silver drachms and bearing the Gondopharian symbol as well as "royal bust" and "King seated as archer" types or the usual Seistan devices, have Pahlavi legend referring to Vindaph(ar) (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 50 and pl. IV, nos. 24-28). *Vindaphar*, probably to be connected with the term *Vindafarna* (*Vindafarnah-*), may be another version of the name *Gondophares* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XLIV ; R. G. Kent, *Op. cit.*, p. 203). However, the

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types, metal, weight and provenances tend to ascribe these pieces to a period falling close to that of Sanabares (*CCGSK*, pl. XXIII, no 11), who ruled after Gondophares I. Hence Vindaphar in question may be distinguished from his great namesake, and may be called Gondophares II.

211. A. Simonetta once read ΛΩΟΓΛΣ on a "bust : enthroned king" coin of Orthagnes. He explained this as meaning "Lous 233", and as denoting—when referred to the Arsacid Era—the year 16 B C. (sic.) (*Estratto Dalla Divisa Numismatica*, 1953-54, vol. XIX-XX, p. 8). This interpretation is, however, not at all certain. For what is taken to represent the year 233 may well be a part of the legend furnishing the name and titles of the king (see also A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 15, f.n.).

E. Herzfeld identified Orthagnes with an unnamed son of Vardanes, who, according to his interpretation of an evidence of Tacitus (*Annals*, XIII, 7,2), rose against Vologases (I) in A. D. 55-58. The same scholar also thought that the striking similarity between the Orthagnes/Gondophares (I) coins and those of Pakores, whom he apparently assumed to have been Gondophares I's successor, should indicate that the former coinage was issued in the last years of Gondophares I, and that he was then serving under Orthagnes (*Sakastan*, pp. 102-104).

We have already seen that the alleged similarity between the coins concerned does not warrant the conclusion to which E. Herzfeld arrived (see above n. 207). Moreover, his theory demotes Gondophares I to the position of a junior ruler after having reigned as an independent supreme monarch, which is a priori unlikely. Finally, there is nothing to suggest the continuation of Gondophares I's career for a long time after April, A.D. 46 (Appendix II). It may also be noted here that according to the generally accepted reading of the passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, the son of Vologases (I) called Vardanes (*and not an unnamed son of Vardanes*) revolted against Vologases

(*Parthia*, p. 180 ; J. Jackson, *Tacitus, The Annals*, XIII-XV (reprint, 1962), pp. 12-13).

212. See above n. 169a.
213. *NC*, 1890, pp. 122-123 ; *JRAS*, 1903, p. 677 ; *Journal Asiatique*, 1935, vol. CCXXVI, p. 288.
214. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XIII-XIV.
215. In this connection see the *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 48.
216. *Ptolemy*, VI, 20, 4 ; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XL ; W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, p. 34.
217. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
219. *Ibid.*
220. See above n. 213 ; see also the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1965, pp. 66-67 ; and the *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pl. 4, nos. 1-5.
221. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 156 ; A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 15. The respective legends are *Basileus Basileon Megas Orthagn(es)* and *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Gadranasa* (or *Guḍranasa—PMC*, vol. I, p. 156). The reasons which compel us to accept Orthagnes as senior to Gondophares I and Gaḍa are also valid in the question of his seniority to Gadrana or Guḍrana. If the letter *r* of *Guḍrana* or *Gadrana* is taken to be otiose, an orthographic trait noticeable in several approximately contemporary documents of North-Western India and adjacent areas, that name should be the same as *Guḍana* or *Gadana*.
222. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 17 ; A.K. Markoff, *Monnaies Arsacides Inedites*, pl. IV, nos. 25, 26 and 27 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 11 ; pl. XXXII, no. 10. On one variety of the Seistan coins the name is written as *Yndophares*, and on another variety as *Ondophares* (*Ondopharou*). On the Arachosian pieces the spelling of the name is *Yndopherres* (*Yndopherrou*).
223. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 5-8 and 23.
224. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 57.
225. Since Azes II's coins bearing "Zeus with a sceptre" on the

reverse and "the mounted king holding a whip" on the obverse have been assigned to Taxila (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 15-25), Gondophares I's pieces with identical devices should also be ascribed to that locality.

226 Rājuvula, who cannot be placed before Azilises or after A.D. 14-15 (*Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1965, vol. VII, pp. 66-67), issued drachms of base metal bearing a bust on the obverse and Pallas on the reverse (*CCGSK*, pl. XV, nos. 11-12). These have been found mainly in the regions lying to the east of the Jhelum (J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. CXV). These coins have their prototypes in the coins of Strato I and II having identical types. Several such coins of Rājuvula have been found with coins of Strato I or II in, *inter alia*, the Mathura area, which region was certainly under Rājuvula (*JASB*, 1854, p. 691 ; J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. CXV). Gondophares I minted drachms of base metal carrying identical types (bust : Pallas) (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 39). And as he (c. A.D. 20/21-46) probably flourished not long after Rājuvula, his coins in question might have been meant for circulation, like the drachms of the latter ruler, in some area to the east of the Jhelum. The extension of the rule of the group of Gondophares I to Mathura itself can be considered to have been a fact, if we can recognise the Gondopharian symbol or one of its varieties in the symbols appearing on the coins of Kshatrapa Hagāna and Kshatrapa Hagāmasha attributed to Mathura (J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. CXI ; compare *PMC*, vol. I, pl.XV, no. 61 with J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, no. 6). For the reasons for placing Hagāna and Hagāmasha after Rājuvula, see *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 269).

227. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, September, 1967, vol. II, no. 9, pp. 8-9 ; see also our article in *JAS*, 1967, vol. IX. No definite evidence has been furnished by J. Marshall to substantiate his conjecture that the kingdom of Gondophares (I) included Cutch and Kathiawad (*Taxila*,

vol. I, p. 60). Nevertheless, this hypothesis may receive support if one accepts our theory, discussed in detail in our work entitled *The Lower Indus Country, c. A.D. 1-150* (in press), that Ptolemy's information on Indo-Scythia is datable to the period of Gondophares I. Syrastrene of Ptolemy's Indo-Scythia included the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north and also the coastal area to the east of the Indus (see above p. 36, n. 40). We, however, cannot find any valid ground to support J. Marshall's hypotheses identifying Sapedanes (of the group of Gondophares I) with Sandanes, mentioned in the *Periplus* as possessing Calliena (i.e., Kalyan near Bombay) (sec. 52), and representing Sapedanes as a subordinate to Gondophares (I). (See S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 66 ; JAS, 1963, vol. V, p. 90 ; etc.).

228. G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.
229. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 150 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 23.
230. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 35.
231. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pl. XII, no. 317.
232. J*NSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 4-8.
233. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 578.
234. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XLIV, XLVI and XLVIII.
235. *PHAI*, p. 453.
236. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 210.
237. See also *CHI*, vol. I, p. 578.
238. If Orthagnes sent Gondophares I to conquer India, the latter ruler must have severed his connection with the former from the moment of his success in that country.

S. Konow, who identified Orthagnes with Gondophares (I), thought that the Orthagnes/Gondophares (I) coins, found in Seistan and Kandahar, should indicate the victorious march of Gondophares (I) against the Śakas "in the west". (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XLVI). The coins in question, however, seem to have been minted prior to Gondophares I's conquests in North-Western India, and so these cannot indicate the extension of his rule from that region to Arachosia, etc., situated "in the west".

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It is generally assumed that Gondophares I extended his authority from Arachosia to India. And it is sometimes apparently believed that he retained control of Arachosia (*PHAI*, p. 453 ; *AIU*, pp. 128-129 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 110). But the Orthagnes/Gadrana coins indicate that Gondophares I was not connected with Arachosia immediately after his departure for India. However, as his independent Arachosian coinage shows, he later established or re-established his rule in that territory.

239. See above n. 228.

240. According to J. Marshall, the appearance of only the royal, and not imperial, titles on the independent Arachosian coins of Gondophares (I) is of significance. "The explanation of this significant change may be that, after the death of Orthagnes, the kingdom of the Suren was split up and Gondophares inherited only a part of it ; or it may be that Gondophares was constrained by the Parthian emperor to forego the imperial title" (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 59). Since neither of these hypotheses is supported by any independent evidence, the appearance of the lower title may be taken to be due to a mistake committed either by the mint-master(s) or by the die-cutter(s) concerned. Such inaccuracies can be noticed on other coins also. The Greek legend on some coins of V'ima Kadphises describes him as only a "king", whereas the Kharoshṭhī inscription on them refers to him as a "great king" and a "king of kings" (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 183). We cannot infer from this evidence that V'ima was an ordinary king and also an imperial monarch at one and the same time. (See also above n. 210).

241. According to J. F. Fleet, a coin of Gondophares (I) bears the date *sa* or *saṁ 20* (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 229 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 12). But the character alleged to represent 20 does not seem to be the figure for any numeral.

242. According to J. Marshall, the appearance of the Gondopharian symbol on some coins of Orodes I (*sic*) and

Artabanus III and the evidence of the coins of Gondophares (I) bearing the Arsacid types indicate his conquest of parts of the Imperial Parthian territory lying even to the west of Seistan (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 60 and f.n. 3). This, however, is not a necessary inference. There is evidence of the circulation of Orodes II's coins in Seistan (*JRAS*, 1904, p. 677) and also in regions far to its east and probably beyond the limits of the Parthian empire (*JNSI*, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 23-25). The coins of Gondophares I himself carrying the Arsacid types are found only in Seistan (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pp. 48 and 54 ; pl. 4, no. 6), and so they should be considered as products of the Seistan mint. Hence none of the testimonies warrants the conclusion arrived at by Marshall.

243. The *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion* by Philostratus and the *Hou Han-shu* by Fan Yeh are sometimes considered to indicate the extension of the rule of the Parthian (or rather Indo-Parthian or Scytho-Parthian) house of Gondophares (I) to the Kabul region (*AIU*, pp. 128-129 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 226 ; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Śakas in India*, p. 26 ; K. C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India*, pp. 88-89 ; etc. See also *CHI*, vol. I, p. 583 and *PHAI*, p. 454).

Neither of these treatises, however, suggests such an inference. It appears from the description of the journey of Apollonius from Babylonia to Taxila, as given in the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, that Phraotes of Taxila, ruled over, *inter alia*, a territory between the Cophen (Kabul) and the Indus, stretching northwards probably from somewhere near their confluence and including Mount Nysa situated not far from the rock Aornus (located in the Pirsar range) (Philostratus, *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, II, 8, 10, 17, 19 and 20 ; M. A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, p. 153). *Phraotes* may have been the name of an Indo-Parthian ruler (*Monthly Notice of the Asiatic Society*, 1966, March, p. 3 ; *The Scythian* Period, p. 353). But the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion* clearly indicates that

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he did not rule the country between the Caucasus (here denoting the Hindu-Kush) and the Cophen (Kabul), and never alludes to the inclusion of the land of the Paropamisadae or the Kabul area within his dominions. Media, identifiable in this context with the Parthian or the Arsacid empire (see above p. 16), stretched (in the east) up to the Caucasus (Philostratus, *Op. cit.*, II, 2 ; see also *Ibid.*, II, 7). So Philostratus does not refer to the Parthian or the Indo-Parthian (or Scytho-Parthian) rule in the Kabul area. The *Hou Han-shu* speaks of the authority of the An-hsi over Kao-fu (or the Kabul area) (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9). The term *An-hsi* means the Arsacids or the Imperial Parthians and not the Indo-Parthians (see above p. 107 and n. 109).

244. R. B. Whitehead thinks, but does not prove, that the monogram on a Gondophares (I)/Gadana coin relates it to the money of the Kabul valley (*NC*, 1950, p. 225). But this coin actually bears the Arachosian devices of Orthagnes, Gondophares I, Gadana, etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 223 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 155), and hence should be ascribed to that area. See also below n. 245.

245. It is well-known that C. Masson found fifty-five coins of Gondophares (I) at Begram (*JASB*, 1836, vol. V, p. 547 ; *NC*, 1890, p. 123), and that twenty-two more were discovered there later (*Bégram*, pp. 85-87 ; see also *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XLIV). The piece, which R. Ghirshman ascribes to Guda (*Bégram*, p. 93), should actually be attributed to Gondophares I (A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, Op. cit., p. 18). However, since none of these coins bears any type ascribable to the Kapiśa (Begram) mint, they should be considered to have been imported into Begram. Since this area appears to represent the site of the ancient emporium of Kapiśa, coins of other territories could have found their way into it by way of commerce. Moreover, the number of these coins is not so great as to imply by itself the authority of Gondophares I over the region in question.

P. Gardner was wrong in believing that coins of Gondophares (I) had been found by C. Masson in plenty at Begram (*CCGSK*, p. XLV ; *NC*, 1890, p. 123). It should also be noted that C. Masson procured only four coins of Gondophares (I) near Jalalabad and none at Kabul (*NC*, 1890, p. 123).

246. See above n. 245.

247. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. I, nos. 1 f ; pl. XVI, nos. 1 f.

248. Compare *NC*, 1950, p. 226, fig. with *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XX, nos. 1 f.

249. *JRAS*, 1903, p. 677.

250. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. 1 f ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 209f.

251. See above n. 248. For sources indicating the political influence of the Arsacids in Seistan in the second half of the 1st century B. C., see above pp. 91-93.

252. In this connection see *CHI*, vol. I, p. 563 ; and *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 192-194.

253. C. Bartholomae, *Op. cit.*, cols. 170, 1422 and 1442 ; R. G. Kent, *Op. cit.*, p. 208 ; etc. *Orthagn(es)* < *Vərəthragna-* , *Gondophar(es)* < *Vi*^{n}*dafarnah-* ; etc.

254. For examples compare *NC*, 1950, p. 226, fig. with *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIV, no. 6 ; and *CCGSK*, pl. XXXII, no. 10 with *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIV, no. 7.

255. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

256. See above n. 251. There is no foundation for the theory that both Orthagnes and Gondophares (I) were Parthian Surens (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 59). The Imperial titles on the coins struck independently by each of them suggest his complete independent status at least for a certain period. Coins, bearing the names of both, indicate associate rulership, in which Orthagnes was the senior partner. Orthagnes might have served the Arsacids before minting coins.

257. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

258. B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I, p 93, f. n. 24 ; *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

259. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

260. *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, pp. 181 f.

261. W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, p. 17.

262. Isidore of Charax, *Op. cit*, sec. 19. See also above p. 62.

263. Most of the territories in the Indian boderlands, which had been earlier in the Arsacid empire, were annexed to the Kushāṇa empire either directly from the Imperial Parthians or from the Indo-Parthians (or Scytho-Parthians). See also Appendix V.

Of all the territories in the Indian borderlands Baluchistan is least referred to in the known history of the Arsacid activities in or near the Indian subcontinent (see above pp. 67, 94 and 135, n. 187). No doubt, it has been claimed that a good deal of Parthian history can be traced in the account of the Kaiyānian dynasty as given in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī (*JASB*, 1932, *ns*, vol. XXVIII, p. 207). Makrān figures in the story of the quarrel between one of the Kaiyānian kings, Kai Khusrau, and Afrāsiyāb. Kai Khusrāu is also said to have made an expedition into Makrān and to have occupied it (with the help, among others, of Tukhār) (Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, II, XIII, VII, vv. 1360, 1363, 1366, 1370-1373 and 1379 ; A. G. Warner and E. Warner, (translators), *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī*, vol. IV, pp. 145, 234, 237, 241-244 and 251). Makrān may be placed in Southern Baluchistan. But it is difficult, without the help of other reliable evidence, to glean data for Indo-Parthian history from the section of the *Shāhnāma* in question. We do not know when or by whom the Arsacid rule in Baluchistan (see above p. 94) was terminated. It may be, however, interesting to note that the *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses*, to be dated to the 1st century A.D , locates the country of the Paradas in a part of Baluchistan (sec. 37 ; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, January, 1968, vol. III' no. 1, p. 5).

264. In certain areas, including Western Bactria, situated very near to the Indian borderlands, the Arsacids might have continued to rule even after the first quarter of the 1st century A.D.

The Imperial Parthians came to Western Bactria much earlier than the 1st century A.D. We have already discussed the feasibility of the rule of Mithridates II in that territory (see above pp. 72-73). It is interesting to note that Chapter 96A of the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, which deals with the "western regions", refers to P'u-t'iao (including at least Western Bactria – n. 74), but does not (unlike the cases of Chi-pin, An-hsi, etc.) describe it in detail as a separate political unit (*CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 38). It appears that in the period of the collection of the data concerning P'u-t'iao, a part of the "western regions", which need not necessarily be placed after c. 33 B.C. (see above pp. 92 and 134, n. 182), it was not an independent political entity. It seems to have been a part of one of the neighbouring kingdoms. P'u-t'iao, including Western Bactria, was apparently situated between An-hsi or the Arsacid empire and Ta-hsia embracing Eastern Bactria. As the *Ch'ien Han-shu* clearly indicates that in the period concerned Ta-hsia (which did not extend beyond Badakhshan in the west) (see above n. 20) was the only possession of the Yüeh-chih to the south of the Kuei (or the Oxus) (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14), Western Bactria could not have been then under that people. On the other hand, the statement of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* that "An-hsi has the Yüeh-chih as its eastern neighbour" (*Ibid*, ch. 96A, p. 14) should suggest that the region to the immediate west of the Ta-hsia area of the Yüeh-chih kingdom was under the Arsacids in the age in question. So we may assume that the *Ch'ien Han-shu* indicates that in or by c. 33 B.C. Western Bactria was a part of the Arsacid empire.

The continuation of the Arsacid authority in parts of Bactria is possibly alluded to in certain sources. A passage of the *Annals* of Tacitus states that "Gotarzes, strength-

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ened by the forces of the Dahae and Hyrcanians, renewed hostilities ; and Vardanes, compelled to abandon Seleucia, pitched his camp in (or near ?) the plains of Bactria" (Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 8). The Arsacid Vardanes (I) abandoned the siege of Seleucia in A.D. 39 and probably did not recover it and also the Parthian empire before the month of Panemus of the year 353, i.e., June or July of A.D. 42 (*Parthia*, p. 168 ; *Coins of Parthia*, p. 153 ; R. H. McDowell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-149, 152-153 and 226). The statement of Tacitus may suggest that during this period of hostility between Vardanes (I) and Gotarzes (II) at least parts of the plains of Bactria or areas lying near it were within the limits of the Arsacid empire.

The *Ta Es Ton Tyanca Apollonion* by Philostratus states that Apollonius visited Babylonia roughly two years and two months after Vardanes had recovered his kingdom. Apollonius stayed with him for a year and eight months, and then left for India. In course of the journey Apollonius and his companions reached "the foot of the Caucasus, the mountain range which, while it separates India from Media, extends by one of its branches to the Red Sea" (Philostratus, *Op. cit.*, I, 28 ; I, 39 ; I, 40 ; II, 1 f ; II, 2 ; R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 384). The Caucasus in question should be identified with the Hindu-Kush. We have already noted that Media is identifiable in this context with the Parthian empire (see above pp. 16 and 149, n. 243). It appears that the Arsacid empire may have extended in the east up to the Hindu-Kush at the time of the journey of Apollonius to India, which commenced three years and ten months after Vardanes (I) had recovered his kingdom in c. June or July, A.D. 42. (See in this connection J. Charpentier, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 32. There is no evidence to suggest that Vardanes II ever ruled—see *Coins of Parthia*, pp. L f).

Josephus refers to the strained relations between Izates and the Arsacid ruler Vologases (I), and states that a messenger, sent by him, came to Izates and told him how great was the king of Parthia, "as his dominions extended from the river Euphrates to Bactria" (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XX, 14). This evidence suggests that at least sometime during the reign of Vologases (I) (A.D. 51/52—79/80) the Arsacid empire extended in the east only up to the western boundaries of Bactria (*Parthia*, p. 178).

The *Hou Han-shu* refers to the destruction of P'u-ta by Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9). P'u-ta has already been located in the region of Bactra in Western Bactria (see above n. 20). Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh has been identified with the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises (see above n. 258). It appears that he captured Western Bactria around Bactra. He may have conquered it from the Arsacids, from whom he had snatched away Kao-fu (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9).

The above testimonies may be considered to indicate the rule of the Arsacids in Western Bactria from the days of Mithridates II or from sometime in the 1st century B.C. to at least about the fifth or sixth decade of the 1st century A.D.

It is perhaps not out of place to note here that the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī narrates in detail the story of the battle between the grandson of Gudraz, the general of king Kai Khusrau, and Farūd, the half-brother of the king. Among Farūd's friends was his counsellor Tukhār. The epic also refers to the fight of the army of Kai Khusrau against Kāmūs, the chief of Kashān, who was ultimately killed in the battlefield (Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, II, XIII, I and II ; A. G. Warner and E. Warner, *Op. cit.*, vol. III, pp 37-66 and 151-190).

Gudraz of the *Shāhnāma* has been identified with the Arsacid emperor Gotarzes (II) (A. G. Warner and E. Warner, *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 9 ; *JASB*, 1932, *ns*, vol. XXVIII, p. 211). J. C. Coyajee has suggested that Farūd was the same as the Parthian monarch Vardanes (I) and that the name *Tukhār* alludes to the Tokharians. The Tokharians were identified or connected with the Yüehchib, to which ethnic stock the Kushāṇas belonged. J. C. Coyajee also thinks that the name *Kushāṇa* itself is noticeable in the expression *Kashān* (J. C. Coyajee, *Cults and Legends of Ancient Iran and China*, pp. 192-193 and 205-208).

If these arguments are correct, the *Shāhnāma* may be considered to refer to the struggle between Gotarzes II and Vardanes I and also to the strained relations between the Imperial Parthians and the Kushāṇas. It should, however, be noted that neither Gudraz nor Farūd is described by Firdausī as a king. Moreover, the name *Kashān*, as it appears from the context, may probably be identified with the name of a locality in Central Asia and may have nothing to do with the Kushāṇas (see B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I, pp. 18 and 36, f.n. 151). So even if there are allusions in the *Shāhnāma* to the struggle between Gotarzes (II) and Vardanes (I) and between the Imperial Parthians and the Kushāṇas, these are too garbled to be used for writing sober history. Such strained relationships are, however, betrayed beyond doubt by other data (see *Parthia*, pp. 166-171 ; *Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1963-64, vol. V, pp. 271-272 ; *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 108-112).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The analysis of historical data in the preceding chapters demonstrates the interest of the Arsacids or the Imperial Parthians in the affairs of the Indian borderlands. Their first movement in these areas can be dated to so early a period as that of Mithridates I (c. 171-138/137 B.C.)[1]. The motivating forces behind their thrust in the east were economic as well as political (see above pp. 60-64). The first phase of their supremacy in parts of these terrotories, viz., Arachosia and the lower Indus country[2] (see above pp. 27-32), was cut short probably by the retaliation of the Indo-Greeks and the havoc caused to the Parthian empire by the nomadic invasions (see above pp, 68-72).

The Arsacids, however, gradually asserted or reasserted themselves in different zones of the Indian borderlands in the 1st century B. C. (see above pp. 77f.). They caused the extinction of the rule of the Bactrian Greeks in the Kabul region of the land of the Paropamisadae (see above pp. 75-81). At least in the closing years of the 1st century B. C., and perhaps also in an earlier period of that century, the Arsacids were in occupation of Arachosia (see above pp. 83 and 89-95). They also re-established their hegemony in the lower Indus country. The evidence of Agrippa, discussed above, alludes to the presence of the Arsacids on the lower Indus[3] (see above Chapter II). The testimony of Agrippa thus constitutes an important source of our knowledge of the Indo-Arsacid history.

No doubt, the nature of the Arsacid rule in the area of Baluchistan is vague (see above pp. 67, 94 and 135, n. 187). Their presence in North-Western India, in the closing decade of the 1st century B. C. or in the first quarter of the 1st century A. D., was too short to have any enduring effect on that territory (see above pp. 95-97). Nevertheless, the sum-total of the achievements of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands clearly indicates that they played an important role in the history of the border regions of the Indian subcontinent in the 2nd and the 1st centuries B. C.

The historical importance of the Arsacid activities in the Indian borderlands is enhanced if one admits the historicity of the theory of their special political relation with certain groups of Parthian or Scytho-Parthian chiefs, who emerged as a political force in parts of those areas in the 1st century B. C. The migrations of the septs of Vonones, Azes I, Orthagnes, etc., may have been connected with different phases of the Arsacid invasions of those regions. The earlier members of their families may have even initially served the Arsacids as subordinate chiefs, governors, or generals. However, each of the groups must have assumed independence by the time it began to strike its own coinage bearing royal or imperial titles (see above pp. 83, 88-90).

The Parthian or Scytho-Parthian chiefs even played a decisive part in driving the Arsacids out of

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the Indian borderlands. Among the other powers responsible for the decline of the Imperial Parthians in the east were the Kushāṇas. The latter also ultimately conquered most of the areas captured earlier by the Parthian or Scytho-Parthian chiefs from the Arsacids[4] (see below Appendix V).

The Imperial Parthians, harassed by the successful Roman interference in the Orient and haunted by internal feuds and dissensions in the closing decades of the 1st century B. C. and the opening years of the 1st century A. D., [5] could not stem the rot. The Kushāṇa onslaught was carried into the interior of the Parthian empire and beyond the limits of the Indian borderlands. Kujula Kaḍphises conquered ihe region of Bactra in Western Bactria (see above p. 154, n. 264). The success of V'ima Kadphises against the Arsacids may be indicated by numismatic evidence. He seems to have copied the "king at altar" type from the coinage of Gotarzes II.[6]

No doubt, the Arsacids probably tried to retaliate. The *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan*, a Chinese translation of an original done by Chi-chia-yeh and T'an-yao in c. A. D. 472,[7] states that "the king of An-hsi was cruel and obstinate, and having marshalled his four (*classes of*) soldiers attacked Chi-ni-cha. King Chi-ni-cha immediately chastised him severely. The two armies joined (*in a*) battle, and daggers and swords were raised incessantly. Thereupon king Chi-ni-cha gained the victory"[8] (*Italics ours*). If the Chinese evidence records a fact, an An-hsi or Arsacid monarch tried in vain to defeat Chi-ni-cha or the Kushāṇa sovereign Kanishka I.[9]

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Though the desirable details are lacking, the above data seem to be sufficient enough to imply strained relations between the Arsacids and the Kushāṇas.[10] This enmity is also alluded to by Ammianus Marcellinus, who recorded that the Bactriani (identifiable with the Kushāṇas)[11] "were ruled by kings who were formidable even to Arsaces"[12] (i. e., the Parthian emperors known as Arsaces after the name of the founder of the empire).[13]

It is interesting to note that the successors of the Arsacids, viz., the Sasanids, were not on cordial terms with the Kushāṇas.[14] In fact, available data suggest the Sasanids as largely responsible for the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire.[15]

It appears that the hostility between the powers dominating respectively Iran and the Indian borderlands was an important political feature of the Orient in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian Era. The Arsacids fought against the Bactrian Greeks, the Kushāṇas humiliated the Imperial Parthians, and the Sasanids subjugated the Kushāṇas.

The activities of the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands seem to have bearing on local and also international politics. Though the available materials are still too scanty to help one to reconstruct the Indo-Arsacid or Indo-(Imperial) Parthian history in full detail, they may perhaps allow us to grasp the importance of the activities of the Imperial Parthians in the territories concerned. *Arsaces* seems to have been a name to be reckoned with in the contemporary world of the Indian borderlands.

NOTES

1. *Parthia*, p. 270.
2. E. T. Newell thinks that Mithridates I's coins with the royal bust on the obverse and standing Herakles on the reverse are comparable with the pieces of the Seleucid king Demetrius II bearing the king's head on one side and seated Tyche on the other. The coins of Demetrius II were struck at Seleucia. Newell has observed that "it is at once obvious that same die-cutters were employed for both (*classes of*) issues" (*Italics ours*) [A. U. Pope (editor), *A Survey of Persian Art*, vol. I (reprint, 1964), p. 477]. But the similarity between the two groups of coins is not so great as to warrant such an observation. (Compare *Coins of Parthia*, pl. III, no. 10 with P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pl. XVIII, no. 2). For our theory that the coins of Mithridates I, displaying the figure of standing Herakles on the reverse, indicate his success in the region of Arachosia, see above pp. 26-28.
3. We may note here that N. C. Debevoise has remarked that "the result of Crassus' fiasco was to place Parthia on an equal, if not superior, plane with Rome in the minds of men from the Mediterranean to the Indus" (*Parthia*, p. 93). If by this statement N. C. Debevoise has meant the extension of the Parthian empire up to the Indus at about the time of Crassus' fiasco, we must point out that no reliable source explicitly refers to such a political condition. Similarly, there is no definite evidence to support the remark of N. C. Debevoise that Parthia, of which Antony's son Alexander was made the king (Plutarch, *Bioi Paralleloi, Antony*, LIV, 4), "extended to India" (*Parthia*, p. 134).
4. See B, N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Chronology* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. II), ch. IV (in press).
5. *Parthia*, pp. 146 f.

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6. Compare *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 36 with *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXVII, no. 21; see also *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 109 f.

7. *Nanjio*, no. 1340; E. Zürcher wants to place the date of the translation in c. 470 (E. Zürcher, The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in Chinse Sources, *PCDK*, p. 16).

8. *Taisho Tripiṭaka*. no. 2058, p. 316.

9. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I, p. 44, f. n. 9a.

10. Hyrcania successfully revolted against the Parthian empire in A.D. 58. The Hyrcanians sent an embassy to Rome. On their way back in A.D. 59 the Hyrcanian ambassadors met Corbulo, the Roman general then serving in the East. "Corbulo assigned to them a guard, and (*the latter*) escorted them to the shores of the Red Sea, from where they were able to regain their country, while avoiding the Parthian territory'' (*Italics ours*) (*Tacitus*, *Annals*, XIV, 25). It has been suggested that the disembarked Hyrcanians could have moved up the Indus (which debouched into the Red Sea) and through the Kushāṇa territory. They might have reached their country by travelling through the Kushāṇa empire and without entering the dominions of the Arsacids, the enemies of the Hyrcanians, Romans and Kushāṇas [G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 271, f. n. 1; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, c. A. D. 1-150*, bk. II, ch. III (in press)].

    It is interesting to note that An-hsi sent envoys and "offerings" to China in certain years corresponding to A.D. 87, 94, 100 (?) and 101, when the relation between the Kushāṇas and China was or had been getting strained as a result of Chinese refusal to allow a Yüeh-chih emperor to marry a Han princess in A.D. 87 or 88 and of the subsequent defeat inflicted on a Yüeh-chih viceroy by the Chinese general Pan Ch'ao (in A. D. 90) (*HHS*, Annals, ch. 3, p. 17; *HHS*, ch. 77, pp. 7 and 9; ch. 118; *TP*, 1906, s. II, vol. VII, p. 232; 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 159, 177 and 178; Tung-kuan Han-chi quoted in the commentary on *HHS*, ch. 77, p. 9 ; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, vol. I, p. 25). It is not impossible that An-hsi or the Parthian empire was trying to be friendly with the Han China, which had become inimical with the Yüeh-chih (i.e., the Kushāṇa) empire [B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, c. A. D. 1-150*, bk. II, ch. III, (in press)].

In this connection see also the *Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1963-64, vol. V, pp. 271-272.

11. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 22-23.
12. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXIII, 6, 14.
13. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. XIX and 3 f.
14. *Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1963-64, vol. V, p. 272.
15. *Ibid.* We can here refer to the testimonies of the *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* by Moses of Chorene, the *Tārīkh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk* by Al-Ṭabarī, the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I, etc.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE GROUP OF AZES I AND NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

We have already demonstrated that there is no definite evidence to show that any member of the Vonones group up to and including at least a period of the reign of Spalirises ruled beyond the limits of Arachosia (see above p. 89).

Azes I, who was for some time associated with Spalirises (see above p. 87), probably did not rule in the upper Kabul valley. At least this is not indicated either by his coins, none of which is definitely ascribable to Kapiśa mint,[1] or by the provenances of any quantity of those pieces in that area.[2] However, the numismatic testimonies leave no room to doubt his retaining the Arachosian territory and ruling there as an independent king. We have already shown that the coins of the group of Vonones should be attributed to Arachosia (see above pp. 33-34, n. 18). On these pieces appear "the figure of a male on horse holding a spear", "Zeus standing to front and holding a sceptre in the left and a thunderbolt in the extended right hand", "Herakles seated on rock to left having his left hand holding a club resting on his right thigh", etc.[3] Same devices depicted in almost identical manner can be noticed on different coin-types of Azes I (e.g., "mounted king holding a spear : Zeus standing to front with a sceptre in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his extended right hand" and

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"mounted king holding a spear : seated Herakles).[4] Hence the coins of Azes I in question should be assigned to Arachosia.[5]

Numismatic evidence testifies to the rule of Azes I in North-Western India. A well-known gold medal, now in the British Museum, carries on one side the figure of a standing bull and the inscriptions *Tauros* and *Ushabhe* and on the other a female standing to front with the left arm akimbo and holding a flower in the half-raised right hand. The legend on the latter side, which reads as (*Pa*)*ḳhalavadidevada* (or *ta*) *Aṁpae* (i.e., of Aṁpa or Aṁpā, the deity of Pakhalavadi), refers to Ampā or Ambā as the city-deity of Pushkalāvatī.[6] The same goddess and also the standing bull appear on several coins bearing the name of Azes.[7] These coins were apparently the products of the mint of Pushkalāvatī,[8] a city of ancient Gandhāra.[9]

Armed Pallas standing to right can be noticed on some coins of Azes II, which bears on the obverse the mountted king holding a whip.[10] The same combination of types may be noticed on coins struck jointly by Azes II and Aśpavarman, the son of Indravarman,[11] and also on those minted jointly by Azes II and Apracharaja Itravarman (=Indravarman), son of Vijayamitra[12] (see above pp. 87-88). If the last mentioned person has been correctly identified with Apracharaja Vijayamitra of the casket relic inscription found in Bajaur,[13] and if he ruled in that area as a subordinate chief, the mint of these coins may have been located in or near it.[14]

Armed Pallas stands to front[15] or left[16] on several coins of Azes II which bear on the obverse the equestrian monarch holding a whip. The same armed deity is shown as standing to left on the reverse of certain pieces of Azlises[17] and of some coins of Azes I,[18] with the figure of a male on horse holding a spear appearing on the obverse of both the classes of species. Stylistically the representation of Pallas to right on several coins of Azes II may be ultimately related to that of Pallas to left on these pieces of Azes I through her appearances (as standing to front or to left) on certain other pieces of Azes II and Azilises.[19] Hence, like the species of Azes II displaying Pallas standing to right, Azes I's coins in question may be placed in or near the area of ancient Gandhāra.[20]

The extension of the rule of the Azes group to the Taxila area is indicated by numismatic data. A copper coin, found at Taxila, bears on the obverse the figure of a male on horse holding a whip in his right hand and shows on the reverse Zeus standing to left and holding a long sceptre in his right hand and Nike with a palm-branch and a wreath (or a diademed fillet ?) in his extended left hand.[21] The Kharoshṭhi inscription on the reverse, which may be read as *Kshatrapa...Rajuvulasa*, distinguishes this coin as an issue of Rājuvula as a Kshatrapa. His drachms of base metal, carrying a bust and Pallas, have been found mainly in the areas lying to the east of the Jhelum (see above p. 146, n. 225), while his coins having "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī by two elephants" as the reverse device have been located in Mathura.[22] So his "mounted male : Zeus Nikephoros" coin, carrying a Kharoshṭhī inscription and traces of a Greek legend, should be placed in or near the known limits of his dominions incorporating some areas to the east of the Jhelum up to and including Mathura. And since the coin in question has been found during an excavation at Taxila, situated between the Jhelum and the Indus, the mint concerned may have been located in that city.

Such an attribution is supported by the discovery at Taxila of a large number (1284) of Azes II's coins carrying identical devices (the equestrian king holding a whip : Zeus standing to left with a sceptre and Nike).[23] There could not have been much, if at all, interval between the periods of Azes II and Rājuvula. We have already shown that Azilises probably began to rule sometime between c. 32-31 B.C. and c. 19-18 B.C. (see above p. 91) and that his co-ruler and successor Azes II might have commenced his reign sometime between c. 6-5 B.C. and c. A.D. 1-2 (see above p. 91). On the other hand, the description of Śoḍāsa, son of Rājuvula, as a Mahākshatrapa in the Mathura votive tablet inscription of the year 72,[24] corresponding to c. A.D. 14-15,[25] implies that Rājuvula's rule as a Mahākshatrapa and still earlier as a Kshatrapa ended before that date. Hence the rule of Rājuvula may have coincided with that of Azes II or of Azilises, or partly of both. And since the titles *Kshatrapa* and *Mahākshatrapa*, assumed by Rājuvula, essentially indicate a subordinate status, he could have at least for some time served Azilises or Azes II or both successively. Thus he might have ruled in the Taxila region as a subordinate ruler during the age of the group of Azes I and minted there his coin in question.

This inference suggests that Azes I's coins showing Zeus standing to left and holding a sceptre in his right hand and winged Nike with a palm-branch and a wreath (or a diademed fillet ?) on the reverse[26] were minted at Taxila. To the same mint we may perhaps assign his species bearing Zeus standing to left with a sceptre on the obverse and winged Nike holding a palm-branch and a wreath (or a diademed fillet ?) on the reverse.[27] For it was practically a fusion of these devices which produced the reverse type of Azes I's "mounted king : Zeus Nikephoros" coins struck at Taxila.

The Shahdaur inscription of Śivarakshita refers to ...*Ayasa saṁ*...[28] If this expression alludes to a year in the reign of Aya or Azes, the dominions of an Azes may be considered to have included the Oghi area of the Agror valley in the Hazara country, where the epigraph was found.[29] It is, however, not certain whether this king was the first or the second ruler of that name.

Nevertheless, the above coin-types and provenances of a great number of coins of Azes I surely suggest the extension of his rule to Gandhāra to the west of the Indus and also to the Taxila area and so probably over the whole of the Indus-Jhelum Doab. Several coin-types (Zeus Nikephoros, Zeus standing with a sceptre, Nike, Poseidon,[30] etc.), used by both Maues and Azes I, indicate that the second ruler, who certainly reigned after the first (Appendices II and III), annexed a great part, if not the whole, of the kingdom of Maues.

Azes I, however, may not have been the immediate successor of Maues in all areas of the latter's dominions. A coin of Maues (seated male : elephant) is known to have been overstruck by a coin-type (seated Apollo : tripod-lebes) of Apollodotus II.[31] Azes II himself re-struck certain pieces of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus.[32] All these data suggest that in at least a part of North-Western India there may have been a revival of Greek rule after Maues, which was later made extinct by the group of Azes I.[33]

Azilises was for some time associated with the government of Azes I. Later the former succeeded the latter as the supreme ruler (see above p. 87). Among his numerous coins, those bearing the equestrian figure of the king holding a spear on the obverse and seated Herakles on the reverse can be considered as products of the Arachosian mint.[34] The pieces displaying the mounted king holding a spear and standing Pallas may be placed in or near Gandhāra.[35] To the Taxila area may be attributed his coin-types showing standing Zeus Nikephoros, Zeus standing with a sceptre,[36] etc.

The evidence of these types and also the findspots of his independent coins suggest that he retained the dominions of his predecessor.[37] One of his reverse devices depicting the "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī by two elephants"[38] closely resembles the reverse type of several coins struck by Rājuvula as a Mahākshatrapa and by his son Śoḍāsa as a Kshatrapa and also as a Mahākshatrapa.[39] These coins have been attributed to the Mathura area.[40] In fact, there is no evidence of the rule of Śoḍāsa much beyond the Mathura district.[41] And since, as we have shown above, Rājuvula might have served Azilises or Azes II or both, he could well have imitated the "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī" device used only by Azilises among all sovereign Parthian or Scytho-Parthian rulers of North-Western India. Hence the coin-device of Azilises may be attributed, like that of Rājuvula, to Mathura.

It appears that Rājuvula served Azilises at Taxila and (later ?) at Mathura. The expansion of the kingdom of Azilises to the east of the Jhelum was probably done at the expense of the group of Strato I and II. His "'bust : Pallas Athene" drachms, based on the drachms of the group of Strato I and II with identical devices,[42] are found (sometimes in association with the latter class of coins) mainly in the areas lying to the east of the Jhelum and including Mathura[43] (see also above p. 146, n. 226).

The "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī" coin-device, located at Mathura, was used also by Rājuvula's son Kshatrapa (and later Mahākshatrapa) Śoḍāsa[44] and also by Kshatrapa Toraṇadāsa.[45] The influence of the group of Azes I over them cannot be proved beyond doubt.

One of the successors of Rājuvula in the post of Kshatrapa of the Taxila area might have been Jihoṇika,[46] referred to in the Taxila inscription of the year 191 as the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa and a son of Maṇigula.[47] Jihoṇika has been identified with Satrap Zeionises and Kshatrapa Jihuṇia, son of Kshatrapa

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Maṇigula, referred to by certain coins.[48] As it will be shown later, Jihoṇika did not end his rule earlier than the period of Azes II and also could not have begun it before the reign of Azilises (see Appendix II). One of his reverse types showing a male being crowned by the city-deity has been assigned to Pushkalāvatī.[49]

Azes II was for a certain period an associate of Azilises and later his successor on the throne (see above pp. 87 and 90-91). However, it should be noted, as G. K. Jenkins has shown, that, though several coins of Azilises may be ascribed to the Arachosian mint, not a single issue of Azes II can be attributed to the area concerned.[50] Arachosia seems to have been lost by the Azes group either towards the end of the rule of Azilises or in the beginning of the independent reign of Azes II (see above p. 90).

In the light of our above discussion we can place in or near Gandhāra to the west of the Indus those coins of Azes II, which carry on the obverse "the figure of the king on horse holding a whip" and bear on the reverse either "Pallas standing to left", or "Pallas standing facing to front," or "Pallas standing to right".[51] In this area he was served by Apracharaja Itravarman and his son Strategos Aśpavarman[52] (see above p. 88).

The coins of Azes II displaying "the mounted king holding a whip" on the obverse and "standing Zeus Nikephores" on the reverse were probably struck at Taxila.[53] To the same mint one may assign his coin-type showing "Zeus standing with a sceptre."[54]

There is no coin-type of Azes II which can be located in the Mathura area. Probably by the period of his independent rule the satraps of Mathura had become at least *de facto* indpendent.[55]

If the above attributions of different coin-types of the Azes group to the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent are at least substantially correct, parts of that territory must have been ruled by Azes I, Azilises and Azes II. According to our chronological scheme, Azes II ruled from sometime between c. 6-5 B.C. and A.D. 1-2 to a date falling before, or in, or not much after, c. A.D. 20-21 (see above pp. 90-91). Azilises commenced his reign sometime between c. 32-31 B.C. and 19-18 B.C. (see above p. 91). The system of calculating regnal periods, as adopted by us (see above p. 89), would also suggest that the beginning of the rule of Azes I may probably be dated to a year in the age ranging from (c. 32/31 B.C.—26) c. 58-57 B.C. to (c. 19/18 B.C.—19) c. 38-37 B.C. This chronological scheme is strikingly confirmed if the Azes Era[56] is taken to have started with the commencement of the rule of Azes I[57] and is considered to have been the same as the reckoning initiated in 58 B.C.[58]

Available evidence suggests that the Azes group was the most important political power in North-Western India in the second half of the 1st century B.C. This theory holds good, even though we admit that some of the later Indo-Greeks may have continued to rule in parts of North-Western India in the early years of the period concerned.[59] As we have already indicated, the possessions of the Azes group in the "North-West" was conquered (mainly) by Gondophares I[60] (see above pp. 88-89 and 102-103).

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NOTES

1. J. H. Marshall thought that in the Kapiśa region Azes I replaced "Zeus Nikephoros enthroned" type by "Zeus Nikephoros with a sceptre" device, and that in the same area Azilises used both of them (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 52). However, the fact is that it is not necessary to consider the "Zeus enthroned" device as a type of Kapiśa (*NC*, 1947, p. 28 ; 1950, p. 206). It is also not imperative to locate the "Zeus Nikephoros with a sceptre" type in the same territory. G. K. Jenkins has suggested that the latter coin-device may be attributed to Taxila (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 8f).
2. The number of Azes coins, found in the upper Kabul valley including Kapiśa, is too small to warrant any conclusion in favour of the rule of the Azes group over that area (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 20). It is curious to note that though A. K. Narain does not point out any type of Azes I as the product of the mint of Kapiśa and is also aware of the fact that his coins are not as commonly found in the Kabul valley as in Arachosia and Gandhāra, he still postulates a period of Azes I's rule in the region in question (A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 164).
3. *NC*, 1890, pl. VII, nos. 1-5 and 7.
4. *Ibid.*, 1890, pl. VIII, nos. 1, 4 and 4a ; pl. IX, no. 6 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pl. I, nos. 1-2.
5. Some coins of Azes I display on the obverse an equestrian figure holding a spear and on the reverse a helmeted female standing to left with a lamp in her right hand and a leafy branch of palm tree in the left hand (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pl. I, no. 4). One may argue that the reverse device was influenced by the figure of helmted Pallas on certain coins of the group of Vonones, the rulers of Arachosia (*NC*, 1890, pl. VII, nos. 3 and 6), and also by the conception of Nike holding a leafy branch of palm tree, which in the days of Orthagnes became a coin-type of Arachosia (see above p. 100). If this argument is

acceptable, the pieces of Azes I bearing the relevant type may be considered to have been produced from an Arachosian mint. (See *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 780 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 2).

6. *CCGSK*, pl. XXIX, no. 15.
7. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XII, no. 308.
8. *NC*, 1965, p. 112.
9. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 114, 11.
10. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XI, no. 157.
11. *NC*, 1890, pl. XV, no. 6.
12. *Ibid.*, 1890, pl. XV, nos. 7-8.
13. *EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 7.
14. See *NC*, 1944, p. 101 and *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 9.
15. *CCGSK*, pl. VIII, no. 4.
16. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XI, no. 145.
17. *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 331.
18. *JNSI*, 1955, vol, XVII, pt. II, pl. II no. 3.
19. *Ibid.*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pl. II, nos. 3-7 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIII, no. 331.
20. It is not impossible that the "mounted king : Pallas" coins issued by the kings of the sept of Azes I were products of the royal mint in Pushkalāvatī, whereas those struck jointly by the rulers of the Azes group and the subordinate chiefs were made at a sub-mint in the Bajaur area. Gondophares I followed the "Pallas to left" coin-type of Azes II, which was the latest of the varieties of the types in question struck by the rulers of the group of Azes I.
21. *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 812 ; vol. III, pl. 241, no. 182.
22. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 187 and CXV.
23. *CCGSK*, pl. XVII, no. 12 ; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 783.
24. *EI*, vol. II, p. 199 ; vol. IX, pp. 243-244 ; *SI*, p. 118.
25. *SI*, p. 118.
26. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pl. III, no. 8.
27. *NC*, 1923, pl. XVII, no. 12.

28. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 17.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
30. A. K. Narain and G.K. Jenkins, *The Coin Types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, pp. 1-2 and 6-7.
31. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 14 and pl. I, no. 7.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 15 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 123, nos. 244 and 246.
33. G. K. Jenkins has tried to show that in the Taxila region the sequence of rule from Maues to Azes I was as follows :-

    Maues, Apollodotus II, Hippostratus, Azes I (first conquest), Hippostratus and Azes I (second conquest) (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 14-16). This sequence does not support the theory that in the Taxila area Maues was succeeded by Azes I (S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 52 ; J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 127).
34. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 2 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XXI, no. 1. The coins of Azilises showing the mounted king holding a spear on the obverse and a goddess with a lamp and a palm-branch on the reverse have been assigned to Arachosia (*Taxila*, vol. II, p. 780, *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 2 ; see above no. 4).
35. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 4, pl. II, no. 4.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-20 and 23 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIII, nos. 320 and 323. The type showing Zeus Nikephoros (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIII, no. 325) as enthroned may also perhaps be attributed to Taxila. In that case, the device of mounted Dioscuri, appearing on the reverse of the coins, showing the above type on the obverse, may also be assigned to the identical mint.
37. *NC*, 1890, p. 106 ; 1943, pp. 51-52 ; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 23-26. A hoard consisting of coins of Azilises and Hippostratus was discovered in the Hazara country. Another find made probably in Punch (Kashmir) yielded *inter alia* fine tetradrachms of these two rulers (*Com. His. Ind*, vol. II, pp. 208-209 ; see also *Ibid.*, p. 207). It is, however noteworthy that only a few coins of Azilises have been

found at Shaikhan Dheri (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1965-66, vol. II, chart no. 2) and Taxila (*Taxila*, vol. II, p. 783)

38. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIII, no. 332.
39. J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 187 and 190-191 ; pl. XXVI, nos. 13, 16, 18, etc.
40. J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pp. CXV and 187.
41. *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 272.
42. *CCGSK*, pl. XXXI, no. 7 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. V, nos. 356 and 361 ; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of* Indo-*Greek Coins*, pl. XXXII, no. 11 ; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 575 ; J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. CXVI. The titles *Basileos*, *Basileon* and *Soteros* seem to occur in the much blundered obverse legend of Rājuvula's "bust : Pallas" coins (J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. 185). These titles seem to have been copied from Greek legends of other the then current coins. That these do not imply an independent status for Rājuvula is clear from the absence of any royal title from the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions on his "bust : Pallas" coins and also from his other coin-types (J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 185f).
43. J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. CXV. E. J. Rapson thought that "bust : Pallas Athene" coins of Zoilus (II) and Apollophanes might have intervened between the coinages of Strato I and II (II and III in the opinion of A. N. Lahiri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 182 and 184) and Rājuvula, and that the pieces with identical devices, referring to Maharaja Tratara Bhadayaśa, could be attributed to a chieftain who rose to power when "the Greek kingdom of the Stratos was falling into pieces under the attacks of the Scythic invaders" (*Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 257-258).

    P. Gardner was of the opinion that Rājuvula might have been a satrap of Strato (I or II ?) (*CCGSK*, p. XXXIX). But as the Mathura lion capital inscriptions allude to the Śaka nationality of Rajula (*CII*. vol. II, pt. I, p. 48) or Rājuvula, he should better be considered, in the absence of any definite evidence, to have been affiliated to a Śaka or Scytho-Parthian overlord.

    S. Konow thought that Yuvarāja Kharaosta (Yuvaraya Khar(r)aosta), mentioned in the Mathura lion capital

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inscriptions (*ibid*), was the father-in-law of Rajula (= Rājuvula) and was the heir-apparent to the kingdom of Maues. According to S. Konow's theory, Maues died in an expedition towards Mathura (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXXV-XXXVII). But the Mathura lion capital inscriptions neither refer to Kharaosta as the heir-apparent to the throne of Maues, nor do these clearly state that Kharaosta was Rājuvula's father-in-law (See *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 141 f ; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas in India*, p. 28). There is no evidence of the rule of Maues in the Mathura area. One may no doubt identify Patika, referred to as a Mahādānapati and as a son of Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka in the Taxila inscription of the year 78 and of the time of Moga (Maues), with Mahākshatrapa Patika, mentioned in the Mathura lion capital inscriptions apparently as a contemporary of Rajula. Even if such an identification is found acceptable, Patika may be considered, like Itravaraman or Aśpavarman of later times, to have transferred his allegiance from one group to another. Patika could have started his career as a Mahādānapati towards the end of the reign of Maues. If Patika was active for a fairly long time, he could well have been a kshatrapa in a part of the kingdom of Azilises, who was separated from Maues in North-Western India only by the reign of Azes I and perhaps some years of the revival of the Greek rule.

E. J. Rapson observed that "King on horse back : Pallas Athene" coins of Azes I "should be attributed to Eastern Punjab". But, as we have shown, this combination perhaps indicates a mint in or near Gandhāra.

44. J. Allan, *op., cit.*, pp 190-191.
45. *Ibid., p.* CXII.
46. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 55.
47. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82.
48. *Ibid.* ; *PMC*, vol, I, p. 157.
49. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 588 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XXIII, no. 4.
50. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 2-3.

51. See also *Ibid.*, p. 4 and pl. II, nos. 5-7.
52. *NC*, 1890, pl. XV, nos. 6-8.
53. *Ibid.*, p, 23 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XI, no. 56 ; *CCGSK*, pl, XVII, no. 12.
54. Three coins of this type are in the British Museum (nos. Whitehead 327 and 328 and Cunningham 435). An inscription, found in the neighbourhood of Jalalabad, refers to one Tiravharṇa as a kshatrapa of Pushpapura. It is dated in the year 83 (*Acta Orientalia*, 1938, vol. XVI, pp. 235-240). If the year can be referred to the Era of 58 B. C., which is, however, not at all certain, Tiravharṇa may be considered to have been ruling in A. D. 25-26. If this was a fact, the Kshatrapa ruler might have served Azes II or Gondophares I.
55. Some coins bear an equestrian figure holding a spear on the obverse and lion on the reverse and refer to Kshatrapa Kharaosta, son of Arta (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 159). It is not certain whether he was the same as Khar(r)aosta, mentioned as a *yuvaraya* in the Mathura lion capital inscriptions (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 48), and whether he was in any way connected with the administration of the Azes group of rulers. The name of Kharaosta's father Arta resembles that of Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Ata (= Arta) *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 89 and pl. XV, no. 9). Such a resemblance, however, cannot identify Ata with Arta. There is no direct evidence of any relationship between the group of Azes I and the Kshaharāta rulers Gahaṭāka, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, even though Ghaṭāka, who assumed the appellation or the title *Kshaharāta*, was mentioned in an epigraph found in the neighbourhood of Mathura, which was once a part of the Kingdom of the Azes group.
56. *SI*, pp. 128-129 ; *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 571 and 581.
57. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 571.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 581. The word *Aya*, appearing after the reference to the year 136 in a Taxila silver scroll inscription, and the term *Aja*, occurring after the reference to year 134 in a record from Kalawan in the Taxila region, are generally taken

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to refer to the name *Azes*. D. C. Sircar thinks that the appearance of the name of Azes (= Azes II) in the epigraphs of the years 134 and 136, referable to the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C., indicates his rule in Taxila in "A.D. 76 and 78". The record of the year 136 mentions a Khushaṇa (Kushāṇa) king. D. C. Sircar believes that the Kushāṇās conquered the Taxila region on behalf of Azes II and annexed it from the family of Gondophares I. Azes II was ruling in 136 as a protege of the Kushāṇas (*AIU*, p. 131).

It is difficult to accept this hypothesis. The rule of Gondophares I in Taxila was probably finished in or before A.D. 46 (see above p. 102 and below Appendix II). By c. A.D. 55 the same area was probably occupied by the Kushāṇas (see below Appendix II) after the short rule of Phraotes and probably some other members of the group of Gondophares I in that region. There is not a sherd of evidence to suggest that Azes (= Azes II) was a co-ruler of any of the kings referred to here. Thus Azes (= Azes II) should be considered to have finished his rule in Taxila before Gondophares I conquered it.

The record of the year 136 refers to one Kushāṇa king and this may, though not definitely, indicate Kushāṇa authority over Taxila at the time of the issuance of that document. The name *Azes* in the records concerned may only qualify the era in which these are dated (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 582 ; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 53). The era of 58 B, C. may have been used in the dominions of Azes I (or II) and may have been distinguished there as the Azes Era. In some areas including Taxila this distinction prevailed even after the end of the rule of the Azes group. H. C. Raychaudhuri correctly compared the dates *134 Ajasa* and 136 *Ayasa* with *Atītarājya* years of Lakshmaṇa Sena (*PHAI*, p. 454).

59. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 16.

60. In this connection see also *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 210.

APPENDIX II

THE DATE OF GONDOPHARES I

The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription records a religious gift on the first day of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 26 of Maharaja Guduvhara (and) in the year 103 [_Maharayasa Guduvharasa vash_ (e*) _20_ (+*) _4_ (+*) _1_ (+*) _1 sa_(_m_)_ba_(_tsarae ti_)_śatimae 1_ (_i. e.,_) _100_ (+*) _1_ (+*) _1_ (+*) _1 Veśakhasa masasa divase_ (_pra_)_ṭham_(e) (_di 1 ..._)...].[1] On the correct assessment of these dates in terms of the Christian Era depends the accurate dating of Guduvhara, who is identified with Gondophares I.[2]

E. J. Rapson pointed out that the symbol of Gondophares (I) was found struck on some coins of ,Orodes II (57-37/36 B. C.).[3] A. Cunningham thought that the same mark could be noticed on two silver pieces of Artabanus (III) (A. D. 12-c. 38 or 40).[4] However, Rapson was not sure about the accuracy of Cunningham's observation,[5] and this greatly impaired the value of the testimony of the last group of coins. Nevertheless, there is a piece of unnoticed evidence which connects the coinage of Artabanus III with that of Gondophares I. There is a close similarity between, if not identity of, a reverse type of Artabanus III, displaying a male figure sitting on horse back to left and having in front of him Tyche holding a palm-branch in her upraised right hand and a spear in her left hand,[6] and an obverse type of Gondophares I with similar features.[7]

Since we know of instances of influence of the Imperial Parthian coinage on the issues of the members of the group of Orthagnes including Gondophares I himself,[8] and not *vice versa*, it may be reasonably held that the coin-type in question had its prototype in the reverse device of Artabanus III. This type of Artabanus appears only on his coins dated in the year 338 (of the Seleucid Era[9]), i. e., A. D. 27/28. Hence it seems that a part of Gondophares I's rule must be placed in or after A. D. 27/28. And since there is no reason to ascribe an unusually long reign to Gondophares I, his rule may be ascribed to the first half of the 1st century A. D.[10]

The only known era, of which the year 103, one of the dates of Gondophares I's Takht-i-Bahi inscription, can be placed in the first half of the 1st century A. D. is the so-called Vikrama Era of 58 B. C. Thus the numismatic testimonies strongly support the traditional dating of the epigraph in question in the so-called Vikrama Era,[11] and clinches the issues in favour of that theory unless we believe—and there is no reason to do so—in the existence of some other era of Northern India having its epoch in the 1st century B. C. So with considerable confidence the year 103 (current) of the Takht-i-Bahi record can be placed in A. D. 45/46.[12] The year 26 of Guduvhara (=Gondophares I), also referred to in the same inscription, may mean the 26th year of his rule. We are perhaps justified, in the present state of our knowledge, in not referring this date to some other reckoning, particularly when we do not know of any era which would fit it.[13] The year 1 of the period, alluded to by the year 26, may be taken to denote the initial year of the independent reign of Gondophares I as a king, or that of his career as a junior joint ruler.[14]

If these arguments are correct, Gondophares I may be considered to have ruled from A. D. 20/21 (=year 1) to at least 45/46 (=year 26). Since, as it has been demonstrated by F. Kielhorn, the era concerned was from the beginning connected with the Kārttikādi year (i. e., the year commencing in October-November),[15] the first day of the month of Vaiśākha of the year 103 (current) (of the reckoning of 58 B. C.) should be placed in April of A. D. 46.

The acceptance of the theory of attributing the year 103 to the era of 58 B. C., however, does not necessarily lend support to the assumption that all dates in the Kharoshṭhī records of North-Western India before the reign of Kanishka I should be referred to one single system of reckoning.[16] In fact, there is evidence of the use of more than one era in the zone and period in question.

A hoard comprising jewellery and silver vessels was discovered beneath the floor of a room in house no. 2D in the Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap.[17] It has been very correctly pointed out that this hoard, like most of the other treasures found in the buildings nearby, was buried at the time of invasion of that city by the Kushāṇas.[18]

An *askos* was found in this hoard. It bears an inscription, dated in the year 191 and referring to Jihoṇika, the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa.[19] If this *askos* was interred at the time of the Kushāṇa invasion of Sirkap (Taxila), the year 191 or at least a part of it should be dated before that incident.

R. B. Whitehead has rightly observed that the discovery of a great number of coins of Kujula Kadphises in Taxila indicates his authority over that area.[20] In fact, "Zeus with a sceptre" device on a group of Kujula's coins[21] can be considered, following G. K. Jenkins' line of reasoning,[22] as having been copied from a coin-type of the Parthian (or Scytho-Parthian) mint in Taxila. It should also be noted that Chi-pin, which the *Hou Han-shu* described as having been "destroyed and possessed by Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh"[23] or Kujula Kadphises,[24] might well have included Taxila.[25]

Kujula's conquest of Taxila obviously marked the end of the Indo-Parthian rule in that locality. According to the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion* by Philostratus, Phraotes was the king of Taxila when Apollonius visited that city.[26] As we have already noted, Apollonius started his journey from Seleucia to India after three years and ten months had elapsed from the date of the recovery of Seleucia (and the whole of the Parthian empire) by Vardanes (I), which, however, was not effected at least before the month of Panemos of the year

353, i.e., June-July of A. D. 42 (see above p. 154, n. 264).[27] And since the journey of Apollonius from Seleucia to India must have lasted for at least a month or two, he could have met Phraotes in Taxila only in or after June or July of A. D. 46.

Phraotes may well have been a Parthian name.[28] This Parthian king had Taxila under him in and/or sometime after June or July, A. D. 46. Hence, Taxila could not have been permanently annexed to the kingdom of the Kushāṇas, the successors of the Parthians or Indo-Parthians in North-Western India, before A. D. 46.

Kujula, however, began to reign much earlier than that year. We have already shown that he conquered Kao-fu or the Kabul region from An-hsi or the Arsacid empire by c. 1 B.C. (see above pp. 107-108). It is apparent from the account of the *Hou Han-shu* that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (or Kujula Kadphises) attacked An-hsi only after he had captured four Yüeh-chih *yabgus* other than that of Kuei-shuang and had founded the Kuei-shuang (=Kushāṇa) kingdom.[29] Hence his carreer as a ruler with sufficient maturity in age should have begun at least some time earlier than c. 1 B. C. The required date may have been 5 B. C., if not still earlier.

According to the *Hou Han-shu*, "Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh died at the age of more than eighty years and his son Yen-kao-chen succeeded him as a king."[30] This statement indicates that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh or Kujula Kadphises ceased to reign shortly after his eightieth year. And since he was probably already sufficiently mature in age in c. 5 B. C., it would be difficult to conceive of his rule even after sixty years later than that year, or after c. A. D. 55. Hence his conquest of the Taxila area should be dated in or before c. A. D. 55.

It appears that the Kushāṇa conquest of Taxila (or the Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap) took place between c. June or July of A. D. 46 and sometime of c. A. D. 55. Thus, if the year 191 of the inscription of Jihoṇika is to be placed before the advent of the Kushāṇas in Taxila, it should be assigned to either c. A. D. 55 or any earlier year.

Kshatrapa Jihoṇika was apparently the same as Kshatrapa Jihuṇia (Zeionises) of a great number of silver and copper coins. [31] Several of his silver pieces contain debased metal. [32] Since the royal silver coinage in North-Western India under foreign rule became debased from the time of king Azes II, [33] these Satrapal pieces, showing signs of debasement, should be dated after the beginning of his rule by sometime between c. 6-5 B. C. and c. A. D. 1-2 (see above p. 91). So the career of Jihuṇia as a Kshatrapa could not possibly have begun more than a generation earlier than the commencement of the reign of Azes II. And since king Azilises, who ruled before as well as with Azes II, started his career sometime between c. 32-31 B. C. and c. 19-18 B. C. (see above p. 91), Zeionises probably did not become a Kshatrapa before c. 32-31 B. C.[34]

These arguments suggest that the year 191 of the record of Kshatrapa Jihoṇika may not be placed earlier than c. 32 B. C. and later than c. A. D. 55.

Hence the first year of the era alluded to in the inscription of Jihoṇika should not be placed after c. 136 B. C. or before c. 223 B. C.[35]

It seems clear that this reckoning could not have been the same as that of 58 B. C. in which the Takht-i-Bahi record of the year 103 is dated.[36] There were at least two systems of dating prevalent for some time, if not during the whole, of the period of Scytho-Parthian rule in North-Western India.

The year 78 of the Taxila inscription mentioning king Moga[37] or Maues,[38] who reigned in North-Western India roughly about three, if not more, generations before Gondophares I (viz., the periods of Azes I, Azilises and Azes II), should not be referred to the era alluded to by the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi record of Gondophares I.[38a] It is more convenient, in the present state of our knowledge, to assign the year 78 to the earlier reckoning indicated by the inscription of Jihoṇika. The dates of several other documents of the Scytho-Parthian age may be attributed to the latter era.

The Khalatse inscription of the year 187 refers to king Uvima Kavphisa,[39] who has been convincingly identified with V'ima Kadphises.[40] If this epigraph is dated in the era of 58 B. C., we must admit that V'ima had been ruling in A. D. 129-130. But this seems improbable. For it is difficult to believe that V'ima reigned even in the 74-75th year after the latest possible date for the death of his father Kujula at the age of more than eighty years.

On the other hand, if the year 187 is referred to the era indicated by the inscription of the year

191, to be placed before Kujula's invasion of Taxila in or prior to c. A. D. 55, then it must be admitted that V'ima began to rule even before his father Kujula conquered Taxila. There is nothing unlikely in such a theory. For in the Kushāṇa empire the heir-apparent was sometimes associated with the rule of the reigning monarch.[41]

These arguments seem sufficient to suggest the use of at least one system of dating in addition to that of the reckoning of 58 B. C. in the Scytho-Parthian age. So there is no valid ground for the theories advocating that all known dates of the period should be referred to one single reckoning.[42] Our discussion shows that the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi record is to be attributed to the so-called Vikrama *Samvat*,[43] even though some other Scytho-Parthian epigraphs may have been dated in a different era.

NOTES

1. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 62.
2. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 230.
3. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 578.
4. *NC*, 1890, p. 119.
5. *JRAS*, 1904, p. 677.
6. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXV, nos. 5 and 6.
7. *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 12 ; *NC*, 1890, pl. XIII, no. 2. It is not certain whether the female figure holds a spear in her left hand and also whether she has in her right hand a palm-branch or a wreath. However, these are only minor variations, and need not minimise the value of our evidence.

8. The Imperial Parthian Type of "king seated with a bow in his hand" (*Coins of Parthia*, pll. VIII f) was copied by Gondophares I himself and by several members of his group (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pl. 4, p. 54).

9. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXV, nos. 5 and 6. W. Wroth wrongly assumed the first year of the era in which the Arsacid coins are dated as 312 B. C. According to his calculation, the year 338 should correspond to A. D. 26/27 (*Ibid.*, pp. 148-149). R. H. McDowell has correctly shown that the epoch of the era concerned should be April, 311 B. C. (R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 148).

10. S. Konow tried to ascribe the year 103 to an Old Śaka Era of 84 B. C. and the year 26 to a reckoning started in 7-6 B. C. and with the accession of Azes (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XLIV and 58). The reckoning termed as the Old Śaka Era by Konow cannot be definitely proved to have started in 84 B. C. Again, there is no evidence in support of the historicity of any era having its initial year in 7-6 B. C. There was an Azes Era. But it is probably to be identified with the reckoning of 58 B. C. (*Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 207). S. Konow himself later realised the weakness of his theory and discarded it (*The Journal of Indian History*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 25).

There is no definite fact to support A. Simonetta's suggestion that the year 103 should be referred to a Drangian Era with its initial year falling between 87 and 80 B. C. (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 170).

11. The year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is generally referred to the so-called Vikrama Era of 58 B. C. (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 231; 1906, pp, 706-711; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 576; *PHAI*, p. 452; *AIU*, p. 130; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 212; etc.).

12. We take the year 103, ascribable to the era of 58 B. C., as a current one, since there is no indication of its having been treated as a "past" year. Kielhorn's opinion that the years of the era of 58 B. C. were generally "expired"

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ones (*IA*, 1891, vol. XX, p. 398), is applicable to a much later period of that reckoning.

13. See above n. 10.
14. There is no necessity of following J. H. Marshall's alternative suggestion that there was an interval between the date of Gondophares I's becoming virtually an independent ruler and that of his assumption of imperial titles (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 60).
15. *IA*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 399 and 407 ; see also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 258.
16. *SI*, pp. 120 f.
17. *Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 155-156.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 67 and 156.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 156 ; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82.
20. *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 840.
21. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 181.
22. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 16-17 and 23.
23. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
24. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p 93, f.n. 24.
25. According to the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, Chi-pin was bordered on the north and the north-west by the Ta Yüeh-chih kingdom including Ta-hsia and on the south-west by Wu-yi-shan-li, and was separate from Kao-fu. It appears from the same treatise that Chi-pin could be reached by a person travelling from the direction of China by crossing Hsien-tu (*CHS*, ch. 96A ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 34, 37, 38 and 41 ; compare *CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 10b with *Ibid.*, ch. 96, p. 1 b).

    M. A. Stein demonstrated that Hsien-tu was situated along the Indus from below Darel to Mirabat "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat" (M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 8). In southern parts of Ta-hsia were Chitral and probably Kafiristan (see above pp. 111-113, n. 20). Wu-yi-shan-li may be located in the Seistan area (see above p. 93) Kao-fu included the Kabul region (see above p. 77).

These identifications suggest that Chi-pin of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* included ancient Suvāstu (Swat) and at least parts of Gandhāra and Arachosia. The name *Chi-pin*, Archaic *Ki̯ad-pi̯ĕn*, Ancient *Kiäi-pi̯ĕn* and Middle Chinese *Kĭei-pyin* <**Kā*(*t*)*s-pīn* (<* – *en*), seems to have been based on the word **Kaspir*, which can be related to *Kāśmīr*(*a*) through the intermediary form **Kāśvīr*(*a*) (L. Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu*, p. 64 ; *Asia Major*, 1962, vol. IX, pt. II, p, 218 ; M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 386 ; c. f. the forms *Kaspiraioi* and *Kaspeira* in *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 47 and 48). This suggests the inclusion of at least a part of ancient Kāśmīra in Chi-pin. The incorporation of these different regions in one unit indicates that Chi-pin of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* denoted the political (or an administrative) jurisdiction of a country which could be reached through Hsien-tu and which had within its limits a portion of North-Western India.

The same can be said about Chi-pin of the *Hou Han-shu*, which states in the 118th chapter that it could be reached by crossing Hsien-tu, and also indicates that a road extended, through Chi-pin, to Wu-yi-shan-li (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 4 ; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 175). The information furnished in the 118th chapter was presumably based on a report of Pan Yung prepared in c. A. D. 125 (*TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 168). So the limits of this Chi-pin might not have been exactly the same as the boundaries of Chi-pin annexed by Kujula Kadphises. Nevertheless, as there was probably no very great interval between the closing period of the reign of Kujula and the date of Pan Yung's source of information on Chi-pin, its main part, which apparently lay in North-Western India, might have been in Chi-pin mentioned by Pan Yung and also in the territory of that name conquered by Kujula.

26. Philostratus, *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, II, 26.
27. *Ibid.*, I, 28 ; I, 39-40 ; II, 1f ; *Coins of Parthia*, p. 153 ; R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 148-149, 152-153 and 226.

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28. *Scythian Period*, pp. 353 and 362 ; *Monthly Notice of the Asiatic Society*, 1966, March, p. 5.
29. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
30. *Ibid.*
31. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *The Coin-Types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, p. 24 ; *CII*. vol. II, pt. I, p. 82 ; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 61 ; etc.
32. See above n. 31.
33. *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, p. 69.
34. Such a dating receives some support if we believe that one of the coin-types of Zeionises showing "a male being crowned with a diademed fillet by Tyche holding it as well as a cornucopia "(*PMC*, vol I, pl. XVI, no. 82) betrays influence of the Arsacid coins bearing a similar type struck for the first time by Phraates IV (c. 38-2 B.C.) (*Coins of Parthia*, pl. XIX, no. 6).
35. Some of the coins of Zeionises, containing good quantity of silver and ascribable to North-Western India (see *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 62, f.n. 1 ; *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 582, f.n. 1, and 588), may have been issued before the reign of Azes II, which witnessed the debasement of silver currency of that area. And if the debased silver coins of Zeionises were not minted before the days of Azes II, he could well have been a contemporary of Azes II and also of the latter's predecessor as well as co-ruler Azilises. Such a chronological position for Zeionises will tend to place the latest possible date for the year 191 of Jihoṇika in terms of the Christian Era much earlier than A. D. 55 (See also above p. 91). It may, however, be argued that Zeionises (Jihoṇika) might have lived for an unusually long period and continued to rule even after the reign of Azes II. In any case, the year 191 should be dated before the Kushāṇa invasion of Taxila between c. June or July of A.D. 46 and sometime of c. A. D. 55. (see above p. 188).
36. If this inference is correct, D. C. Sircar should be considered to have committed a mistake when he ascribed the year 191 of Jihoṇika to the era of 58 B.C. and thereby

distinguished him from Zeionises of coins (*SI*, p. 131, f. n. 3). J. Marshall thought that Zeionises (Jihoṇika) served as a kshatrapa under Gondophares I (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 61).

37. *CII*, vol. II, pt, I, p. 28.

38. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 570.

38a. This inference contradicts the theory of D. C. Sircar (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I (2nd edition), p. 124) and S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (2nd edition), pp. 66-69) that the year 78 of the Taxila inscription referring to Moga should be assigned to the era of 58 B. C.

39. *Acta Orientalia*, 1948, vol.XX, pp. 117-119 ; *BSOAS*, 1949-50, vol. XIII, p. 397. The inscription can now be read correctly with the help of its photograph published by G. Tucci (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 294, fig. 8).

The correct reading is *Saṁ 1* (i.e.,) *100* (+ *) *20* (+ *) *20* (+ *) *20* (+ *) *20* (+ *) *4* (+ *) *1* (+ *) *1* (+ *) *1 Maharajasa Uvima Kavphisasa*.

40. *BSOAS*, 1949-50, vol. XIII, p. 397.

41. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 74.

42. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXXXII f ; *Scythian Period*, p. 50 ; *SI*, pp. 120 f ; etc.

43. K. P. Jayaswal assigned the year 103 to an earlier Śaka Era of 123 B.C. and the year 26 to "the era or the years officially used" by Gondophares (I). This makes the date of this record as 20 B. C. (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp. 241-242). However, since such an earlier era probably did not have its first year later than 136 B. C., the theory of K. P. Jayaswal need not be accepted. We may add here that if the word (*Sa*)*ka* can be read before the date of Jihoṇika's inscription (*JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 3 ; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XVI, no. d), the reckoning in question could have been known in his period as the Śaka Era. In that case it should be called the Old

Śaka Era. (For a different view, see the *Acta Orientalia*, 1948, vol. XX, p. 115).

J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw has placed Gondophares (I) in the second half of the 1st century B. C. She does not believe in the historicity of the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, which refers to the meeting of St. Thomas with Gūdnaphar, identifiable with king Gondophares (I), after the death of Jesus Christ, which would locate at least part of Gondophares I's reign in the 1st century A. D. She rejects the identification of Gondophares (I) with Phraotes, mentioned by Philostratus as a ruler of Taxila, whom she dates to c. 45 A. D. Again, she takes Abdagases of the house of Gondophares (I) as the successor on the throne of the latter and identifies him with Abdagaeses, mentioned by Tacitus (*Annals*, VI, 36) while relating events of A. D. 35. Since Abdagaeses had a grown-up son in A. D. 35, he was then an old man. This puts, according to Lohuizen-De Leeuw, the end of the reign of Gondophares (I) in about 10 B. C.

Lohuizen-De Leeuw further observes that the appearance of square *omicron* on coins of Gondophares (I) tends to place him not long after c. 40 B. C., since the fashion of using the square form of that letter, noticeable for the first time on the coins of Orodes II (57-37/36 B.C.), did not last long. Further, the assumption by Gondophares (I) of the title *autokrator*, found on coins of the Imperial Parthian monarchs of pre-Christian centuries, may point to his early date. Finally, she refers the year 103 to an era of 129 B. C. Thus, according to her, Gondophares I was ruling in 26 B. C. (*Scythian Period*, pp. 352-358).

These arguments, though apparently impressive, do not bear close scrutiny. There is no special reason to doubt the relevant evidence of the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* (see above p. 143). Again, Phraotes ruled in Taxila in and /or after c. June or July of A. D. 46 (see above p. 187), whereas the last known date of Gondophares (I), i.e., Vaiśākha 1 of the year 103, may be placed, if referred to the era of 58 B. C., in April of A. D. 46. Thus there is no apparent clash between the dates of these two kings. The only inference that can be drawn from the premises concerned is that at least in the Taxila region the rule of Gondophares (I) might have ended by sometime of June or July, A.D. 46. We are sceptical of the necessity of identifying Abdagaeses of the *Annals* of Tacitus with Abdagases of the house of Gondophares I. Tacitus never alludes to his Abdagaeses as an Indo-Parthian ruler. He is described only as one of the Parthian nobles.

In the Parthian series the square *omicron* appears not only on some of the coins of Orodes II, but also, among others, on some of the issues of Mithridates III (58/57-55 B. C.) (*Coins of Parthia*, pl. XIII, no. 3). The sporadic use of the square form of this letter can be noticed in records of still earlier periods (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 326). On the other hand, the same form occurs also on coins of Kujula, whose last year cannot be placed before A. D. 46 (see above p. 187 and *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVIII, no. 188). Hence the evidence of the square *omicron* does not necessarily place Gondophares I in the 1st century B. C.

The title *autokratoros* appears on several coins ascribable to Mithridates I (c. 171-138/137 B. C.), and on those probably of Sinatruces (76/75-70/69 B. C.) and again on some pieces attributed to Tiridates II (c. 30-25 B. C.) (*Coins of Parthia*, p. XXX). The sporadic appearance of this title on the Imperial Parthian coins does not preclude the possibility of its reappearance after another long interval on the issues of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares I, if the coins of Tiridates II remained in circulation in a territory once held by the Imperial Parthians and later annexed to the dominions of the Indo-Parthians. Such a possibility is indicated by the fact that Gondophares I counter-struck some coins of Orodes II. It should be noted that the Indo-Greek king Theophilus also used the title in question (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. VIII, no. 632). We do not know his exact date. It is not impossible that his coinage influenced that of Gondophares I.

Thus the attempt to refer the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi record to an era of 129 B. C. is not substantiated by any definite evidence.

APPENDIX III

MAUES AND THE ARSACIDS

A copper plate inscription, found at Taxila, is dated in the year 78 and apparently in the reign of Maharaya Mahaṁta Moga,[1] i.e., Moga, the Great King, the Great. He has been identified with Moa and Maues mentioned in legends of a great number of coins.[2] The year 78 can be referred to an era which, as we have seen, probably had its first year not later than 136 B. C. or many years earlier (see above Appendix II).

The coins of Maues bearing on the obverse Zeus standing with a sceptre in his left hand and on the reverse Nike holding a wreath[3] can be attributed, in the light of our discussion in Appendix I, to the Taxila area. To the same or a more eastern locality we may assign his "standing Herakles with club : lion standing" coins,[4] since the devices on these appear to have influenced a variety of species of Rājuvula,[5] who is not known to have ruled to the west of Taxila (Appendix I). These pieces of Maues carry a monogram which occurs also on his coins displaying the head of an elephant and a caduceus.[6] Thus numismatic evidence indicates his occupation of the mint of Taxila, and so probably of the Indus-Jhelum Doab. His satrap Liaka Kusulaka ruled Chukhsa,[7] which might have included the

Taxila region and perhaps also parts of Gandhāra to the west of the Indus.[8]

The "Artemis : bull" coins of Maues[9] are typologically based ultimately on the "Artemis : bull" pieces of Artemidoros,[10] the distribution of whose coins seems to confine his territory to the Peshawar district area.[11] Hence the species of Maues may have been struck in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus.

The copper pieces of Maues showing a horse on one side and a stringed bow in a case on the other[12] may have been struck in an area where the Arsacid coins with identical devices could have been imported through trade and commerce (see above pp. 81-84). This area was probably in the westernmost part of the kingdom of Maues, where the Arsacid coins could have come into circulation more easily than in his more eastern dominions.[13]

Theories suggesting the authority of Maues over regions to the west of Gandhāra cannot be regarded as proven. His supposed rule over the locality of Kapiśa in the country of the Paropamisadae[14] is not supported either by the provenances of any great number of coins[15] or by the appearance on his coins of any type ascribable to that area.[16] These make us sceptical of the value of A. Simonetta's suggestion that some of the monograms on coins of Maues may be attributed to the Kapiśa mint.[17]

We cannot also agree with J. H. Marshall, who, mainly on the grounds of poor workmanship and the clumsy forms of Kharoshṭhī letters in the coin-legends, ascribed to Arachosia some pieces of Maues bearing respectively the types of "Pallas Athene", "a god with a trident and a club" and "a goddess with a lamp".[18] The defects may have been due to the faults on the part of some inefficient die-cutters in North-Western India. Again, none of these types occurs on the coins of Vonones and his associates, who definitely ruled in Arachosia not much—if at all—later than Maues. No doubt, the figure of a "goddess with a palm-leaf and a lamp" appears on some issues of Azes I and of Azilises,[19] which may be connected, as G. K. Jenkins has shown, with Arachosia.[20] It is also probable that Azes I was related to the group of Vonones. But the deity on the pieces of the Azes group cannot be definitely identified with the goddess on some coins of Maues, who wears a turretted crown and holds a wheel and probably a patera and not a lamp.[21] There is also a gulf of difference between the appearances of these deities. It should also be noted that the mint-marks (?) on the pieces of Maues in question are different from those on Azes I's coins under discussion.[22]

A. Simonetta's attempt to ascribe six mint-marks appearing on different coins of Maues to Arachosia cannot be supported.[23] For all of the six such symbols or monograms can be noticed on pieces of Apolodotus II,[24] and four of them also on issues of Hippostratus,[25] neither of whom had probably anything to do with Arachosia.[26] Moreover, none of these alleged mint-marks can be found on coins of Vonones and his direct associates, which are ascribed to Arachosia.[27]

V. A. Smith thought that Maues was connected with the Imperial Parthians. According to Smith, this association is betrayed by his assumption of the Parthian title "King of Kings" and by the appearance of Imperial Parthian types like "horse" and "bow in a case" on some of his coins.[28] However, these may have been due to the influence exerted on the die-cutters of Maues by the Imperial Parthian species imported into his territory through trade and commerce from an area lying not very far from his dominions[29] (see above pp. 81-84). Hence such an evidence may not indicate any political association of Maues with the Arsacids. Indeed we are not sure of the region from which Maues or his family had originally reached North-Western India.

We have already noted that E. J. Rapson,[30] and following him S. Konow,[31] W. W. Tarn,[32] J. H. Marshall[33] and some others, advocated a migration of the Śakas from Seistan, and through Arachosia and the Brahui mountains, to the lower Indus valley, and thence, under Maues, up the Indus and into the Punjab. Although a Śaka migration from Seistan to the lower Indus valley is extremely probable and a Śaka settlement in the latter region is a certainty, there is not a sherd of evidence to suggest any connection of Maues with that area[34] (see above pp. 20-21 and 45-46). Moreover, it is not necessary to make such an assumption, for our sources indicate more than one Śaka invasion of India.

A. K. Narain has shown that certain Chinese sources refer to a Śaka inroad across the Himalayas.[35] It is clear from a passage of Chapter 61 of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* that the Great Yüeh-chih, driven away by the Hsiung-nu, attacked and occupied the Sai country and that the king of the Sai "took flight to a great distance southward".[36] According to the same passage, some time later the king of the Wu-sun attacked the Yüeh-chih in the Sai country and the latter moved westwards and invaded and subjugated Ta-hsia.[37] Another section of Chapter 96A of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* clearly states that "when the Great Yüeh-chih went to the west and defeated and drove away the Sai king, the Sai king went southward and crossed Hsien-tu, and the Great Yüeh-chih occupied their (*sic*) country".[38] A third passage of Chapter 96A of the identical treatise informs us that "when the Hsiung-nu defeated the Great Yüeh-chih, the Yüeh-chih went to the west and became rulers of Ta-hsia, whereas the Sai king (or Sai-wang) went southward and became ruler(s) of Chi-pin".[39]

It becomes clear from a comparative study of these statements that the Great Yüeh-chih, ousted by the Hsiung-nu, invaded and occupied the Sai country and the Sai king moved southwards, crossed Hsien-tu and reached Chi-pin. We have seen that the term *Chi-pin* occurring in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* signifies the political (or an administrative) jurisdiction of a country which could be reached through Hsien-tu and which had within its limits a portion of North-Western India (see above p. 193). Stein located

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Hsien-tu along the Indus and from the south of Darel to Mirabat, "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat."[40]

Thus the Sai ruler had nothing to do with Tahsia, which was occupied by the Yüeh-chih only after they had been driven away by the Wu-sun from the Sai country. Since the Yüeh-chih occupation of the Sai country can be placed between c. 174 and 160 B. C.,[41] it seems certain that the Sai king began his southward journey sometime in that period. It is difficult to determine the date of his arrival in Chi-pin, including a part of North-Western India. However, the Sai ruler might have reached that region well before the known date of Maues, who also ruled in the same area.[42] The term *Sai*, known to have been pronounced in an early period as *Səḳ*,[43] can be identified with the name *Śaka*. And since the name of Maues indicates his Scythian or Śaka affinity,[44] he may have belonged to the group of these Śakas.

The possibility of a Scythian migration into India across the Hindu-Kush should also be noted. An unnoticed passage of the ***Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*** by Philostratus refers to "the Scythians who once invaded this country across the Caucasus".[45] Although the statement occurs in connection with a mythical story, it may be, like many other such passages in the text concerned, an echo of a historical fact. It is clear from the context that the country meant here is India. And if the Caucasus included the Hindu-Kush,[46] then the passage in question might have alluded to a Scythian migration into India across that mountain. But we have no definite idea either about the date of this migration or about the part it played in the history of the regions of the Hindu-Kush and the North-Western India.[47]

It appears that the Scythians invaded India from at least two directions—from Seistan and via Arachosia and the Brahui mountains into the lower Indus country, and from the former Sai country (to be placed in the modern Ili basin) and through Hsien-tu to Chi-pin. There is also the possibility of a Scythian migration across the Hindu-Kush. Hence Maues need not necessarily be associated with any movement from the Imperial Parthian dominions.[48]

NOTES

1. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 28.
2. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 570.
3. *CCGSK*, pl. XVI, no. 2.
4. *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 5.
5. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pl. XLIII, no. 21.
6. Compare *CCGSK*, pl. XVI, no. 1 with *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 5. Several scholars have attributed "elephant's head ; caduceus" coins of Maues to Taxila.
7. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 28.

8. The name of Chukhsa is preserved in that of modern Chach, a broad alluvial plain in the north of the Attock district and thereabouts, alongside the Indus. Originally, it might have included the Taxila region, where the record referring to Liaka Kusulaka as the satrap of Chukhsa was found (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 23f). Its association with the Indus region (probably with the upper courses of the river) may also be indicated by the fact that in the *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, *Choska* (which appears to be a variant of the term *Chukhsa* or *Chuskha*) means "a horse from the district on the Indus" (*Ibid*., p. 25). A Taxila inscription of the year 191 refers to Jihoṇika as the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa (*Ibid*., p. 82). If the ascription of his coins bearing "the figure of Tyche crowning a male" to Pushkalāvatī (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit*., p. 353 ; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 61 ; vol. II, p. 839) is correct, then Chukhsa may have included also parts of Gandhāra to the west of the Indus.
9. *CCGSK*, pl. XVI, no. 4.
10. *Ibid*., pl. XIII, no. 2.
11. *NC*, 1943, p. 59 ; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 151. The coins of Artemidoros have been found, *inter alia*, in the Charsada area or ancient Pushkalāvatī. E. J. Rapson observed that "the figure of Artemis, which occurs on the coins of Artemidorus, bears an evident allusion to king's name ; and since it is found also on coins of Peucolaus" (i.e., the "Artemis : city-goddess" coins of Peucolaus), "it shows that the Greeks identified the city-goddess with Artemis. The association of Peucolaus with Pushkalāvatī is proclaimed by his name, which is simply the adjective of Peucolaïtis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis." (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 558 ; see also W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit*., pp. 315-316).
12. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. X, no. 35.
13. That the Arsacid coins sometimes came into circulation in areas familiar with the species of the Indo-Parthian or Scytho-Parthian chiefs, is indicated by the contents of the Mohmand hoard, which yielded coins of Azes I, Azlises and

Azes II and drachms of the Arsacid monarch Orodes II (57-37/36 B.C.) (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 24),

14. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 591 ; W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 332-333 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 199 ; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 47 ; *PHAI*, p. 437 ; etc.

15. So far only eight coins of Maues have been discovered from Afghanistan, in the eastern part of which was the country of the Paropamisadae which included Kapiśa (*JNSI*, 1955, vol XVII, pt. II, p. 21, f. n. 9). In fact, only one coin of Maues is known to be found definitely at Kabul in the upper Kabul valley (*NC*, 1950, p. 206 ; A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, p. 153).

16. Some coins of Maues, showing enthroned Zeus holding Nike and the forepart of an elephant on the obverse, were formerly ascribed to Kapiśa. According to E. J. Rapson, certain pieces of Eucratides, the reverse legend of which refers to the city-deity of Kāpiśī (Kapiśa), carry obverse devices similar to those appearing on the coins of Maues in question (*CHI*, vol. I, pp. 555 f and 590-591). R. B. Whitehead has, however, shown that a female city-deity, and not Zeus, can be noticed on the coins of Eucratides. So she, and not Zeus, was the deity of Kāpiśī (Kapiśa). Hence the "enthroned Zeus type" of Maues need not be placed in that area (*NC*, 1947, pp. 28 f ; 1950, pp. 205 f).

17. *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pp. 60-62.

18. *Taxila*, vol. II, pp. 778-779 ; *CCGSK*, pl. XVI, nos. 3 and 6 ; pl. XVII, no. 3.

19. *CCGSK*, pl. XVII, no. 11 ; pl. XX, no. 10.

20. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 2-3.

21. *CCGSK*, pl. XVI, no. 3.

22. On the "mounted king holding a spear : goddess holding a wheel and a patera (not a lamp)" coins of Maues, ascribed by J. H. Marshall to Arachosia, occurs the name *Dami* (*Taxila*, vol. II, pp. 778-779). *Dami* has been identified with the Śaka Rājan Damijada of an inscription of the year 60, found at Shahdaur in the Hazara country (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 14 ; A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, p. 143). This

suggestion seems likely for the Hazara region, lying not far from Taxila, could have been under Maues. The proximity of the year 60 of Damijada to the year 78 of Maues indicates their rule in about the same period, if, of course, both the dates refer to one particular era. Hence Damijada might have been a Satrap of Maues. In that case, the coins in question should be located in Hazara. It should, however, be noted that the title *Rājan* literally means "king". So one may argue that Damijada was an independent Śaka monarch. In that case, he shonld be considered to be the earliest known Śaka king of North-Western India.

23. *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 62.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. JNSI, 1955, vol. XVII, pt II, pp. 2, 14 and 22-23 ; *NC*, 1923, p. 338 ; 1940, p. 110 ; A, K. Narain, *Op. cit* , pp. 149-150.
27. *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p, 62.
28. *ZDMG*, 1906, pp. 49-72, In this connection see also the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1879, vol. VI, p. 338.
29. We have already noted that Mithridates I (?), Mithridates II, Sinatruces, Phraates III and Orodes II of all Imperial Parthian sovereigns used the coin-types in question (see above p. 81). Of these Mithridates II and Orodes II assumed the title "King of Kings" (*Ibid.*, p. 277).
30. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 560, 564 and 568f.
31. *JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p, 19.
32. W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 232-233.
33. *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 45 ; see also S. Chattopadhyay, *Early History of North India*, p. 50.
34. A. K, Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 142f.
35. A. K. Narain, *Op. cit.*, pp. 129f. P. Gardner long ago thought of a Śaka invasion through Kashmir or Nepal (*CCGSK*, p, XL). However, he did not cite any Chiness source. P. C. Bagchi suggested that the Śakas migrated from Ta-hsia and across the Himalayas into Kashmir (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. X, no. 2, pp. 118-119). A. K.

Narain has shown that the Śakas migrated from the Sai country to Chi-pin.

36. *CHS*, ch. 61, p. 4 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 69.

37. See above n. 36.

38. *CHS*, ch. 96B, p. 1.

39. *CHS*, ch. 66A, p. 10.

40. M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 8.

41. It is clear from the *Ch'ien Han-shu* that the Yüeh-chih left their "original home" between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien (in Western Kansu) in the period of the Hsiung-nu king bearing the title of *Loa-shang shan-yü* (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14B), and that they were driven out of the country of the Sai by the chief of the Wu-sun when the same Hsiung-nu monarch was still ruling (*CHS*, ch. 61 ; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 69). The name of the Hsiung-nu ruler in question is known to be Chi-chu (*CHS*, ch. 110, p. 10b). He ruled from 174 B.C. to 160 B.C. (E. Zürcher, The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in the Chinese Sources, *PCDK*, p. 3). Since the departure of the Yüeh-chih from Kansu, their migration to, conquest of and rule in the Sai country, and defeat at the hands of the chief of the Wu-sun happened within a short space of fourteen years (174-160 B.C.), the last incident must have taken place not much before, if not in, the year 160 B.C. So the Sai king, who was driven out of the Sai country as a result of the Yüeh-chih occupation of this territory, must have begun his migration towards Chi-pin sometime in this period of fourteen years (174-160 B.C.).

42 J. Harmata believes that the last Greek kingdom in North India was overthrown by the Śakas during the reign of Süan-ti (73-49 B.C.) (*Acta Orientalia* (Hungary), 1966, vol. XIX, p. 10 ; 1967, vol. XX, p. 32). Harmata apparently alludes to the evidence of the *Ch'ien Han-shu*. But it never explicitly states that the Śakas conquered that kingdom during the reign of Süan-ti.

43. *Karlgren*, no. 773 ; A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, p. 101, nos. 2016 and 2173 ; E. Zürcher, *Op. cit.*, p. 18, no. t.

44. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 208.

45. *Philostratus*, *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, *III*, *20*.

46. *Ibid.*, II, 2. For a discussion on different conceptions about the geographical denotation of the term *Caucasus*, see J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin*, p. 58, f.n. 2.

47. Can these Scythians be connected with the Parsioi of Ptolemy (VI. 18, 3), and also with the Asiani of Pliny (VI, 23, 77) ? Ptolemy placed the Parsioi, identifiable with the Pasiani (W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 292 aud 332), in the country of the Paropamisadae. Pliny located one of the three cities of the Asini, same (?) as the Asiani, at Bucephala, which must be placed on the Hydaspes or the Jhelum. If the suggestions stated here are correct, do they require us to believe that the Pasiani-Parsioi and Asiani-Asini migrated respectively to the Paropamisadae country and to North-Western India from Western Bactria, which they had invaded in c. 130-129 B.C. ? (See above p. 71).

48. For V. M. Masson's observations on Maues, and related problems, see V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Aphganistana*, vol. I, pp. 121-156.

APPENDIX IV

THE DATE OF THE *STATHMOI PARTHIKOI*

The *Stathmoi Parthikoi* by Isidore of Charax purports to record the halting stations on an overland trade route in the Parthian empire.[1] Incidentally it refers to an invasion of the territory of Phraates by Tiridates, after the latter had returned from exile.[2] There might have been two such invasions, one in 26 B.C. and another in 25 B.C., led by Tiridates II against Phraates IV.[3] Hence the date of the treatise of Isidore must be placed in or more probably after 26 B.C.

The text in question includes Arachosia within the limits of the dominions of the Imperial Parthians.[4] We have already seen that Gondophares I possessed Arachosia at least for some time during his rule from c. A.D. 20-21 to c. 45-46 (see above p. 185). It has also been demonstrated that Orthagnes, who controlled Arachosia before Gondophares I's independent reign in that territory, commenced his rule there by sometime between c. 6-5 B.C. or c. A.D. 1-2 and a date falling in or before c. A.D. 20-21 (see above p. 101). On the other hand, there is also no evidence to suggest the authority of the Imperial Parthians over that region after the assumption of independence by the group of Orthagnes. Hence the latest possible date for any information furnished by any passage of the work of Isidore must be placed well before A.D. 46 and not much, if at all, later than c. A.D. 1-2.

These two possible termini for the date of the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* lend strong support to the view of Bernhardy that we should substitute Isidore of Chaiax for Dionysius of Charax, who is noted by Pliny as having been sent by Augustus "in advance to the East....to write a full account of it when the emperor's elder son" (i. e., his grandson Gaius adopted as son) "was about to proceed to Armenia to take command against the Parthians and the Arabians."[5] We should take into account the identity of the places of origin of these two persons, the proximity of the dates of their works, the probability of both of these dealing, among others, with geographical or topographical accounts, and finally the possibility of the name of Isidore (*Isidorus*) having been somehow corrupted into *Dionysius* in a very early manuscript of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. These premises, when considered together, lead us to support the suggestion of Bernhardy. If this is so, Isidore must have collected his data on the Parthian empire or at least those concerning its eastern region (which are not traceable in any classical work other than the *Stathmoi Parthikoi*) during his fact-finding tour started well in advance of the date of the expedition of Gaius in c. 1 B.C.[6] Thus 1 B.C. is the latest possible date for the information about the Parthian empire, particularly about its eastern part, contained in the *Stathmoi Parthikoi.*[7]

NOTES

1. W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of charax*, pp. 1f and 17.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, sec. 1.
3. Tiridates II first revolted against Phraates IV even before 31 B.C. and captured the Parthian throne. However, in c. 30/29 B.C. Phraates IV regained his throne. Tiridates II fled to the court of Augustus. A class of dated tetradrachms, ascribed to Tiridates II, indicates that he was in occupation of the region of Seleucia in May, 26 B.C. The reference made by Isidore to Tiridates' invasion of an island in the Euphrates (*Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 1) may be referred to this period, and this may indicate Tiridates II's success in different parts of Mesopotamia and adjacent lands. Regions to the west of the Tigris might have now seceded from the Parthian empire. However, as it appears from the numismatic testimonies, Tiridates II was soon ousted from Mesopotamia. He probably fled to Augustus for the second time. Numismatic evidence suggests that Tiridates was again in occupation of Seleucia in March, 25 B. C. Parts of Mesopotamia might have again been out of the boundaries of the Parthian empire. However, by May of the same year Phraates IV had captured Seleucia. Tiridates II was no more heard of. (For the original sources on which the reconstruction of events as given here is based, see *Parthia*, p. 136, f. n. 44 ; p. 137, f. nn. 45, 46 and 47 ; p. 138, f. n. 49 ; and pp. 135-138).
4. *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 19. The same section includes Arachosia within the Parthian empire, and at the same time refers to it as "White India". E. Herzfeld (*Sakastan*, p. 98) and, following him, W. W. Tarn (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 53) believe that the latter reference indicates Arachosia as a part of an Indian kingdom and that this kingdom was that of the Azes dynasty. W. W. Tarn further thinks that when Isidore includes Arachosia within the Parthian empire, he

actually refers to conditions of the days of Mithridates II (*Ibid.*, p. 54).

The last suggestion is improbable, as there is nothing to prove Mithridates II's authority over Arachosia. However, the feasibility of the first suggestion cannot be altogether denied. But it must be pointed out that the information concerning "*White India*" need not belong to the time of the rule of the Azes group. Arachosia might have been given the appellation "White India" during the reign of this dynasty. The new name might have survived the rule of the dynasty in question and remained in circulation as a familiar designation for Arachosia. This suggestion is in complete agreement with the fact that Isidore includes "White India" within the Parthian empire, and not in the kingdom of the house of Azes I.

5. *NH*, VI, 31 ; Bernhardy, *Dionysios Periegetes*, p. 496 ; C. Müller, *Geographie Graeci Minores*, vol. II, pp. LXXX-LXXXV ; E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. II, p. 164 and f. n. 8.
6. *CAH*, vol. X, P. 253 ; *Parthia*, pp. 147-148.
7. See also W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-55 ; and E. Herzfled, *Sakastan*, pp. 5-7. Prof. E. H. Warmington also once placed the work of Isidore in c. 1 B. C. (M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, p. 75). Now he apparently ascribes this treatise to c. A. D. 25. However, he has not given any reason to substantiate his new hyhothesis (*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 459).

M. Rostovzeff believes that Lucian in his *Macrobioi* refers, on the authority of Isidore, to one Artabazus as a king of Characene. The same scholar also thinks that this king, who is not represented by any coin of Characene, may have ruled twice between A.D. 71/72 and 100/101—a period which is not known to have produced any such coin. If this hypothesis is acceptable, Isidore, who referred to Artabazus, lived at least up to A.D. 70/71. Rostovzeff takes Isidore as Pliny's contemporary (*CAH*, vol. IX, pp. 118 and 126).

An examination of the relevant sentence of the *Macrobioi*, however, reveals that it contains no reference to Isidore. It simply states that "Artabazus, the sixth successor of Tiraeus on the throne of Charax, was reinstated by the Parthians and became king at the age of eighty-six" (sec. 15 ; A. M. Harmon (editor), *Lucian*, vol. I, pp. 234-235). Here Lucian does not expressly refer to Isidore as his authority. Hence the date of Artabazus cannot indicate that of Isidore. This conclusion negatives the theory of Rostovzeff as well as obviates the necessity, felt by Weissbach (*Pauly*, vol. IX, 2, col. 2067) and Tarn (*Op. cit.*, p. 54), for ascribing the information given in the sentence in question to a pseudo-Isidore.

On the other hand, another passage of Lucian's *Macrobioi* explicitly states that "another Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who, Isidorus the Characene historian says, occupied the throne in the time of Isidorus' parents, was assasinated at the age of ninty-three through the machinations of his brother Gosithres". This Artaxerxes is sought to be identified with Artaxerxes II of Persis, whose father's coinage started not much earlier than 100 B.C. (G. F. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, p. CLXXII). Artaxerxes himself succeeded his brother, the successor of their father. Hence, the rule of Artaxerxes can be placed in the second or the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. Artaxerxes was said by Isidore to have been a contemporary of his parents. If this was so, the most probable age of Isidore should have been the period covered by the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. and the first quarter of the 1st century A.D.

APPENDIX V

ARSACIDS, INDO-PARTHIANS AND KUSHĀṆAS

The Taxila area in North-Western India might have been under the Arsacids for a short spell between the beginning of the rule of Azes II as a co-ruler or a supreme ruler and the minting of the joint coinage of Sasan and Gondophares I sometime during the reign of the latter (see above pp. 96-97). The same region was occupied by the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises between June or July, A.D. 46 and c. A.D. 55 after ousting Phraotes (or one of his immediare successors ?) (see above pp. 187-188).

This territory might have been a part of Chi-pin, which was conquered by Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh[1] (i. e., Kujula Kadphises).[2] *Chi-pin* denoted, according to the *Ch'ien Han-shu* and the *Hou Han-shu*, the political (or an administrative) jurisdiction of a country which could be reached by crossing Hsien-tu and which had within its limits a portion of North-Western India[3] (see above pp. 192-193, n. 25),

Chi-pin, as it appears from a section of the *Hou Han shu* presumably based on Pan Yung's report of c. A.D. 125, extended up to the borders of Wu-yi-shan-li[4] or the Siestan area (see above p. 135, n. 184). It apparently included Arachosia. And since the Chinese text in question refers to Chi-pin as a territory in possession of the Yüeh-chih (Kushāṇas), Arachosia should have been annexed to the Kushāṇa empire by c. A.D. 125, if not during the period of Kujula himself. There are indications that Arachosia was not won over easily. The Arachosian types (bust : Nike) (see above p. 100) and legends of Pakores, one of the successors of Gondophares I,[5] are sometimes found struck over pieces of Soter Megas,[6] identifiable with V'ima Kadphises,[7] the son of Kujula Kadphises.[8] This may suggest at least a temporary success of Pakores against the Kushāṇas in the region of Arachosia. So this area might not have been annexed to the Kushāṇa empire before the days of Pakores and V'ima. A British Museum copper piece of Gondophares I (bust : Nike), which is re-struck by an "elephant rider" type, probably of V'ima[8a] (pl. III, no. 17), may perhaps allude to his permanent or temporary success in Arachosia.

In different periods of her history Arachosia was under the Arsacids, the house of Vonones, the sept of Azes I and the group of Gondophares I (see Chapter V). It probably passed from the clutches of the last-mentioned power to those of the Kushāṇas.

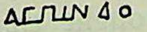
The Arsacid rule was at least twice extended to the lower Indus country (Chapter V). The inclusion of at least a part of it in the kingdom of Gondophares I is implied by the evidence of one of the Ethiopian recensions of the *Acts of Thomas*, which alludes to the rule of Gondopor (Gondophares) in the "country of India" apparently included in or contiguous to another territory also called 'the country of India".[9] In the early centuries of the Christian Era the name *India* denoted not only the Indian subcontinent, but sometimes also a part of the lower Indus area[10] (see above p. 143). The identical or substantially the same territory may have been included in the region called Scythia in the *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses.*[11] It states, in course of describing *Scythia* through which the Sinthus (i.e., the Indus) flowed into the sea, that in front of the market town of Barbaricum, situated on the central mouth of the river and near the sea, there "is a small isle, and behind, in the interior, is the capital of Scythia, Minnagar. (*It is*) ruled by the Parthian princes who are constantly expelling one another"[12] (*Italics Ours*). It is generally assumed that these Parthian princes were successors of Gondophares I.[13]

The lower Indus country or a part of it is also indicated by the geographical name *Shen-tu* referred to in the *Hou Han-shu.*[14] According to this text, Shen-tu, also called T'ien-chu, was situated on the bank of a large river (i.e., the Indus) and stretched up to Kao-fu (i.e., Kabul) on the western side, to the Western Sea (i.e., the Arabian Sea) on the south-western side and to P'an-chi on the eastern side.[15] It was conquered by Yen-kao-chen,[16] i.e., V'ima Kadphises, the Kushāṇa emperor and the son of Kujula Kadphises.

It appears that the lower Indus area or different parts of it acknowledged the supremacy of the Arsacids, the group of Gondophares I and the Kushāṇas in different periods of her history. Though the rule of the sept of Gondophares I in the lower Indus country must be dated after the last phase of the rule of the Arsacids in that territory, Gondophares I himself could not have been their victor (see above pp. 97-98). It can, however, be shown, as we have pointed out elsewhere, that the group of Gondophares I was ousted from the lower Indus area by the Kushāṇas[17] (see also above p. 98). We may here repeat our arguments for the sake of the convenience of the readers.

A jar containing twenty-one coins of good silver and other valuable objects was discovered at a late Scytho-Parthian (and early Kushāṇa ?) stratum of Sirkap in the Taxila area.[18] These species, of approximately same size and weight,[19] bear the bust of a male and Greek legend on the obverse, and Nike and Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse.[20]On the latter side of the majority of these issues appears a mint (?)-mark (the Kharoshṭhī letter *bhu*).[21] The peculiar symbol ( ) of Gondophares I[22] occurs definitely on thirteen[23] and probably on another five[24] of the twenty-one coins in question.

Of the pieces possessing the last-mentioned characteristic, eight have been attributed to Sasan,[25] five to (Sa)pedanes[26] and five to Satavastra.[27] The three coins, which do not display the Gondopharian symbol, have been ascribed to the Kushāṇas.[28]

However, these ascriptions made by J. H. Marshall,[29] do not appear to be fully correct. According to R. B. Whitehead and J. Allan, the name Aga...(?) can be read on a coin assigned by Marshall to (Sa)pedanes.[30] Again, on another piece, referred to the latter ruler, the Greek legend appears as....  .[31] Since we have examples of ligatures of parts of distinct letters in Greek legends on coins of the Scytho-Parthian and Kushāṇa ages,[32] and since the archaeological stratification points to the piece in question as one minted in one of these periods, it seems reasonable to decipher the inscription under discussion as... ·(ΜΕΓ?)ΑϹ ΓωΝΔΟ .[33] Thus *Gondo* should be the whole or a part of the appellation of the issuer of this particular coin. This at once reminds us of the name of Gondophares. On another piece, assigned again by Marshall to (Sa)padanes (?),[34] we notice that the word *Gadavhrasa* occurs in the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse.[35] On the analogy of the name *Guduvhara* or *Gondopherres* (i,e., *Gondophares*),[36] written also as *Gadapharna*,[37] *Induphrres* (*Induphrrou*),[38] etc., the form *Gadavhra* may be taken to be another variant of the same appellation. Moreover, no known ruler called Gondophares other than Gondophares I had anything to do with India or some parts of its borderlands, where the Kharoshṭhī script was prevalent for a long period including the late Scytho-Parthian (and early Kushāṇa) age(s), to which the coins in question apparently belonged, Hence the two coins under discussion, bearing Kharoshṭhī script of the same regions, should be attributed to Gondophares I.[39]

The three coins, attributed to the Kushāṇas, appear to bear the portraits of one particular male and are apparently the issues of a single monarch. J. H. Marshall[40] and R. B. Whitehead[41] were inclined to identify him with the Kushāṇa king Kujula. E. J. Rapson, however, thought that the coins in question displayed the bust of the Kushāṇa king V'ima, wearing the distinguishing conical head-dress.[42] Although the conical hat was also worn by other Kushāṇa rulers,[43] the theory of attribution of the coins concerned to V'ima may be substantiated in another way. We may consider that the Greek letters on one of them, decipherable as... ΑΓωοh ,[44] may well have formed parts of the expression ΜЄΓΑϹ ωοhΜΟ . The form ΟοhΜΟ certainly reminds us of the name of only one Kushāṇa monarch, viz., V'ima, whose name appears as *Ooēmo* in the obverse legends of his coins.[45]

Thus the Sirkap hoard contains coins of Gondophares I, Sasan, (Sa)pedanes, Satavastra, possibly a certain Aga......(?) and also the Kushāṇa monarch V'ima Kadphises. The uniformity in type, metal, size and weight of these species indicates them as forming a homogeneous group. Hence they can be considered as products of one single mint.[46] In fact, the Kharoshṭhī letter *bhu*, which may have served the purpose of a mint-mark, appears on the majority of these coins.

Scholars are not unanimous in locating the mint concerned. R. B. Whitehead thinks that the Kharoshṭhī letter *bhu* can be seen also on the coins of Vijayamitra's son, and that the evidence of the relic casket inscriptions from Bajaur places him in that region. These factors, in the opinion of Whitehead, show that the coins under discussion also came from the same area.[47] E. J. Rapson was apparently inclined to locate these species in the Taxila area.[48] According to him, they illustrate "the passing of Pahlava rule in eastern Gandhāra (Takshaśilā)".[49] Similar are the views of D. C. Sircar[50] and J. N. Banerjea.[51] A. Simonetta, on the other hand, observes that they "must have come from Pushkalāvatī, the only town where the silver drachms must have continued to be used down to the last years of Hermaeus (and apparently for some time later) and which may have been captured by the Pahlavas".[52]

None of the above arguments seems to be convincing. The style, types and fabric of the coins of the Sirkap hoard are different from those of the issues of Vijayamitra's son.[53] Moreover, though the letter *bhu* and some other symbols or marks appear on the latter class of coins,[54] such a combination cannot be noticed on the species from the Sirkap hoard.[55] Hence there is no real evidence of relationship between these two sets of coinages, and consequently nor of the connection of the contents of the Sirkap hoard with the Bajaur region.

It is also difficult to locate the mint concerned either at Taxila or at Pushkalāvatī (modern Charsada)[56] or anywhere else in North-Western India or even in Arachosia. The silver coinage of North-Westerm India had become heavily debased by the time of Azes II,[57] who was ousted by Gondophares I from at least a part of that region. We admit that the silver issues definitely minted by Hermaeus are of good or pure metal. But neither the rule of that king nor the coins of good silver bearing his name can be attributed to so late periods as those of Azes II and Gondophares I.[58]

The family of Azes I minted silver in Arachosia.[59] But Orthagnes, with whom should be associated the earliest years of the career of Gondophares I and who ruled over Arachosia immediately or rather soon after the sept of Azes I, did not strike any silver coin in that area.[60] This discontinuation was probably due to the contamination of the currency of the region in question by the heavily debased silver issues of Azes II. The presence of the latter in Arachosia or in certain territories lying close to it is indicated by the contents of the hoards from Mir Zakah (near Gardez)[61] and Chaman (between Kandahar and Quetta).[62] These might have been imported in the area or areas concerned through trade and commerce.

It is perhaps not very difficult to ascertain the reason for this increase of alloy in the metallic currency of North-Western India and thereabouts during the period (c. 50 B.C.-A.D. 50) in question. A comparative study of certain groups of silver coins bearing the name of Hermaeus, but issued after his death, indicates a gradual debasement of metal.[63] Known history suggests the prevalence of political unrest in parts of North-Western India and thereabouts (Kabul area, etc.) towards the end of or immediately after the rule of Hermaeus.[64] Even when it was included in the empire of the Arsacids, it was probably too far away from their central seat of rule to be effectively controlled from there. The lack of a strong political authority in a commercially important zone like North-Western India,[65] probably tempted private moneyers or local and irresponsible powers to mint coins. As they naturally wanted to make profit out of their new business, we should assume, on the analogy of later instances,[66] that sub-standard coinage began to be issued in that area.

Conditions were thus ripe for the operation of an economic principle called Gresham's Law after Sir Thomas Gresham, one of the masters of England's mint in the 16th century. This law enjoins that "all types of metallic money in circulation declared equal in value or purchasing power by the government must be kept equal in value or buying power. If they are not, the under valued money will be hoarded, exported to places where its true value will be recognised, or melted down for sale in the bullion market, while the overvalued, cheaper money will be kept in circulation."[67]

That this actually happened in the North-West, is suggested by the evidence of the circulation of debased currency in that area in the later Scytho-Parthian period. This menacing tendency to replace good money by bad money became so popular and forceful, that an important ruler like Azes II could not check it, and that later even the Kushāṇas had to stop minting any regular Imperial silver coinage in their attempt to reform the currency system.[68]

It appears that Gondophares I came into a North-West India, which had already been accustomed to the use of a debased currency. So was the case with contemporary Arachosia (and also Sakastana).[69] Thus Gondophares I could not have usefully or profitably issued coins of good silver in any of these territories. Hence his silver coins, yielded by the Sirkap hoard, cannot be attributed to any mint of these regions.

There was, however, an area within the kingdom of Gondophares I where any debased coinage might not have been in circulation from an earlier time. We are referring to the lower Indus region, where the group of Gondophares I and the Kushāṇas ruled. But there is no source which proves the rule of the family of Maues or of Azes I in the lower Indus country (see above pp. 21 and 202 f). At least no mint of their coins can be located there. There is also no definite ground to suggest the existence of a regular local silver currency in that area about the time of the rule of the gorup of Maues or of the sept of Azes I in the North-West.[70] Hence the peoples of the lower Indus country of the age of Gondophares I were probably not yet used to the gradual debasement of silver coinage already witnessed in the North-West, and would naturally have been prone to judge any silver coin on its intrinsic merit and not on its currency value. It can be assumed, following Gresham's principle, that if they at all used silver coins, imported from the nearby area of North-West, these must have been earlier species of good metal. Consequently, if any one wanted to introduce an effective and readily acceptable silver currency in the lower Indus country about the time of Gondophares I, he must have been aware of the necessity of minting good silver.

This line of reasoning suggests the attribution of the silver coins of the Taxila hoard to a mint located somewhere in the lower Indus territory or modern Sind. Such an ascription is strongly supported by the fact that excavations in the Saidpur stūpa area, near Tando-Mahammad-Khan in Sind, yielded two silver coins of Sapedanes having the same types, size, weight and metal as those of the coins found at Sirkap.[71] The evidence of the Saidpur pieces appears to be very important if it is remembered that these are the only specimens of their class found anywhere outside Taxila, where the mint in question cannot be located.

The hoard of coins under discussion thus indicates a transfer of power in the lower Indus area. V'ima Kadphises annexed it to the Kushāṇa empire by ousting the group of Gondophares I. At least a portion or parts of the same country was or were twice under the Arsacids in still earlier periods (see above pp. 13-19 and 27-32).

It appears that the Kushāṇas conquered most of the territories from the Indo-Parthians or Scytho-Parthians, which had earlier acknowledged the suzerainty of the Arsacids. A notable exception seems to have been Sakastana, which was once a province of the Arsacid empire and (then) a part of the territory of group of Orthagnes (see above Chapter V). There is no evidence to prove that it was ever included in the Kushāṇa empire.[72] Otherwise the history of the general trend in the transfer of powers in the regions concerned was traceable from the Arsacids to the Indo-Parthians or Scytho-Parthians[73] (or via some other powers to the Indo-Parthians or Scytho-Parthians)[74] and then to the Kushāṇas.[75]

NOTES

1. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9,
2. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 93, f.n. 24.
3. The "Zeus standing with a sceptre" type, appearing on the reverse of some pieces of Kujula (which display a seated male on the obverse) (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 181), may be attributed, in the light of our discussion in Appendix I, to the Taxila area. The king facing to right seated on a curule chair with his right hand stretched out appearing on some of his species, showing a bust to right on the obverse (*CCGSK*, pl. XXV, no. 5), may be compared with a similar representation of an enthroned male noticeable on certain coins of Gondophares I, which carry on the reverse the figure of standing Zeus Nikephoros (*NC*, 1890, pl. XIII, no. 11). As the "Zeus Nikephoros" type has already been located at Taxila, the pieces of Gondophares I and also of Kujula can be assigned to that locality.

   The representation of bull on the "camel : bull" coins of Kujula can be compared with that of the same animal on certain pieces of Zeionises showing an elephant on one side and a bull on the other (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 18 ; *NC*, 1890, pl. XV, no. 4) (These two classes of species are also linked with each other by a few common monograms). An Indo-Parthian or Indo-Scythian coin-device showing a standing bull may be ascribed, in the light of our discussion in Appendix I (see above p. 168), to the mint of Pushkalāvatī. Hence "elephant : bull" pieces of Zeionises might have been products of the identical mint. In fact, most of the special marks or monograms on this class of coins can be noticed also on another variety of the species of Zeionises showing a city-deity, probably the deity of Pushkalāvatī (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, nos. 82 and 84). This suggests that the "camel : bull" coins of Kujula may be attributed, like the species of Zeionises, to Pushkalāvatī.

The obverse of the "bust : Heracles" coins referring to Hermaeus in the Greek legend and Kujula in the reverse inscription were derived from copies of genuine species of Hermaeus carrying a bust on the obverse and bearing Kharoshṭhī as well as Greek inscription. These pieces of Kujula were probably struck in a territory which had once been in the kingdom of Hermaeus and which lay somewhere to the south of the Hindu-Kush, where the coins of Hermaeus with bilingual legend had been in circulation [B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 93-94].

The obverse legend of a copper coin in the British Museum, carrying a bust to right on the obverse and the figure of Pallus hurling thunderbolt on the reverse, can be read as...*OZOYΛO*. Only the word (*raja*)*dirajasa* can be deciphered in the mutilated Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse (pl. III, no. 18). The only known names of rulers which may have been alluded to in the remnant portion of the obverse legend are those of Kujula and Rājuvula or Rajula. It should, however, be noted that the latter ruler is referred to in the expression *Razu* (=*Razou*<*Raza* or *Razo* ?) occurring in the Greek inscription on the obverse of his coins. Moreover, the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions on his different types of species do not ascribe to him any regal title. (J. Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 185-187). The imperial titles on the obverse of his "bust : Pallas" coins are mere imitations of a part of the legend occurring on their proto-type struck by the Strato group (see above p. 146). On the other hand, imperial titles and also the expression *Kozoulou* do appear on different pieces of Kujula (*PMC*, vol. I, pp. 179-180). Hence the coin in question may be ascribed, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to Kujula. The "bust ; Pallas" type has already been attributed to an area to the east of the Jhelum (see above p. 146).

It is not certain whether Kujula is referred to in the obverse legend...*oko ozoulo* (i.e.,...*o koozoulo* ?) of a certain silver obol showing a bust on the obverse and pilei and palms of Dioscuri on the reverse (*NC*, 1889, pl. XIII, no. 9). This piece can be typologically related to the oboli of Eucratides I with identical devices (*CCGSK*, pl. V, no. 10), which are known to have been imitated in the countries on the Oxus (*NC*, 1889, p. 352 and pl. XIII, no. 8). So if the coin in question can be attributed to Kujula, it may have been minted in the Ta-hsia region of Eastern Bactria to the south of the Oxus or in the Yüeh-chih territory to the north of that river. Kujula possessed both the regions (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14 ; *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9 ; B. N. Mukhherjee, *Op. cit.*, p. 124).

The devices of the "bust : standing archer" coins of Kujula (*NC*, 1892, pl. IV, no. 6) seem to have the ultimate source of their inspiration in the "bust : Pallas Athene" coins of Antiochus I. His species are known to have been copied by the nomadic invaders who extinguished the Greek rule in Bactria and Sogdiana. These are found in the countries on the Oxus including the area which had been once a part of ancient Sogdiana. Kujula's pieces, which carry Kharoshṭhī as well as Greek inscription, should be placed somewhere in or near India and its borderlands where Kharoshṭhī was likely to be more familiar than in contemporary Sogdiana. These might have been meant for circulation in an area of Ta-hsia lying contiguous to the Indian borderlands.

The above analysis of the coinage of Kujula shows that at least the mints of his "bull : camel", "king seated : Zeus with a sceptre" and "diademed bust : king on a chair" coins may have been located in Chi-pin. It is not certain whether an area to the east of the Jhelum, where his "bust : Pallas" coins were minted, was a part of Chi-pin as indicated by the *Hou Han-shu*.

4. *HHS*, ch. 118 ; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 150, 168 and 175 ; *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pt. II, p. 5.

5. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Coin-types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, p. 20 ; see also below n. 75.
6. *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 49 and pl. III, no. 1.
7. B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-55. Coins of Soter Megas has not been unearthed during the recent excavations at Shaikhan Dheri in the Charsada area (Peshawar district, West Pakistan) in any stratum prior to that related to the early Kushāṇa age. This "stratigraphic evidence definitely shows that such coins were issued not before the early Kushāṇa period" (A. H. Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation, 1963 & 1964 Seasons", *Ancient Pakistan*, 1965-66, vol. III, chart no. 2 and p. 38).
8. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, p. 97, f.n. 24.

8a. M. F. C. Martin published a gold coin of V'ima Kadphises which showed on the obverse the royal figure riding an elephant walking to left (*NS*, 1931-33, no. XLIV, p. 7). This piece is probably now in the British Museum (A. H. Wood III, *The Gold Coin-Types of the Great Kushāṇas*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 9, p. 3 and pl. I, no. 2). Huvishka struck both copper and gold coins showing him as riding an elephant walking to right (*Ibid.*, p. 9 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIX, nó. 151). The elephant struck over the copper piece in question also walks to right. This may suggest that the re-striker was the Kushāṇa king Huvishka. However, as Gondophares I probably lived well before the period of Huvishka, it would be better, in the present state of our knowledge, to consider V'ima, the only other Kushāṇa ruler using the type concerned, as responsible for re-striking the piece in question.

9. E. A. W. Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostle*, vol. II, pp. 406-419.
10. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, 1966, August, vol. I, no. 3, p. 5.
11. *Periplus*, sec. 38 ; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 165 ; *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, p. 181.
12. *Periplus*, sec. 38.
13. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 166 ; *The Quarterly Review of Histori-*

cal Studies, 1965-66, vol. V, p. 181 ; etc. See also *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XXVI.

14. *HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9-10 ; *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, p. 181 ; *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pt. I, pp. 5f.
15. See above n. 14.
16. *HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9-10.
17. *JAS*, 1967, vol. IX, pp. 1f.
18. *Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 160-161.
19. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 776 and 785.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 815-816 and 820 ; vol. III, pl. 241, nos. 201-208 and 211-214 ; pl. 242, nos. 215 and 217-221 ; pl. 243, nos. 258-260.
21. *Ibid.*, pl. 241, nos. 201, 202 (?), 203 (?), 205 (?), 206, 207 and 212 (?) 214 ; pl. 242, nos. 215 (?), 218 and 219-221 ; pl 243, nos. 258-260.
22. The earliest king in India on whose coins the symbol in question appears is Gondophares I (*PMC*, vol. I, pp. 146f).
23 *Taxila*, vol. III, pl 241, nos. 201, 202, 204, 206, 208, 211, 212 and 214 ; pl. 242, nos. 215, 217-218 and 220-221.
24. *Ibid.*, pl. 241, nos. 203, 205-207 and 210 ; pl 242, no. 219.
25. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 815, nos. 201-208.
26. *Ibid*, p. 816, nos. 211-215.
27. *Ibid.*, p, 816, nos, 217-221.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 820, nos. 258-260.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 815-816 ; vol. I, pp. 160-161.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 840 and p. 816, no. 212.
31. *Ibid.*, vol. III, pl. 242, no. 215.
32. *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, nos. 2 and 6 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 36 ; etc.
33. C.f. the legend *Basileos Basileon Meg*(*a*)*s Yndo*(*ph*)*eres Autokrato* appearing on certain coins of Gondophares I (*CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 10 ; A. K. Markoff, *Monnaies Arsacides inédites*, pl. IV, nos. 25, 26 and 27 ; *NC*, 1950, p. 226 ; A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-17).
34. *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 816, no. 213.
35. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pl. 241, no. 213.

36. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 38 and pp. 146f.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 152 ; pl. XV, no. 59 ; *NC*, 1950, p. 223 and pl. XII, no. 13.
39. Another coin with identical types, metal and weight (?) appears to bear the name ΓωΝΔΟ (*Taxila*, vol. III, pl. 241, no. 216). The latter word may be a part of the appellation ΓωΝΔΟ , i.e., *Gondophares*. This piece was also found at Sirkap (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 188).
40. *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 161 ; vol, II, p 820.
41. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 841.
42. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 580-581.
43. *Taxila*, vol. III, pl. 243, no. 258.
44. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p, 786.
45. *CCGSK*, pl. XXV, nos. 8f.
46. *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 776. We may add here that one silver piece of Sapedanes having the same types and intended weight and size as those of the coins of the Sirkap hoard was recovered from Block D of Sirkap (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 188 ; vol. III, pl. 242, no. 218). This coin of Sapedanes was apparently struck at the same mint which produced the species of the Sirkap hoard.
47. *NC*, 1944, pp. 101-104 ; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 776, f.n. 1 (Whitehead's opinion is here cited by Marshall). See also below n. 54.
48. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 580-581.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 580.
50. *AIU*, pp. 131-132.
51. *Com. His. Ind.*, pp. 217-218. See also *The Scythian Period*, p. 362.
52. *East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 170.
53. *NC*, 1890, pl. XV, nos. 7 and 8 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. iii ; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 776, f.n. 1.
54. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. iii ; *NC*, 1944, p. 100, figs 2 and 3.
55. *Taxila*, vol. III, pl. 241, nos. 201f ; pl. 243, nos. 258f.

56. M. Wheeler, *Charsada, A Metropolis of the North-Western Frontier*, pp. 3f.

57. *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 68 ; vol. II, pp. 781 and 785 ; *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 68-69. The heavy debasement of silver coinage in North-Western India and its borderlands probably compelled the Kushāṇas not to have any regular silver currency for those areas.

58. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 20-21.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 23 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 210.

61. R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors Monétaires D'Afghanistan, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XIV, pp. 67, 79 and 80.

62. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 25-26.

63. *Ibid.* pp. 20-21 ; *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 361-362 ; B.N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 93-94, f.n. 26.

64. See above n. 62 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country*, c. .D. 1-150 (in press), bk. I, ch. III.

65. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 131f ; etc.

66. For an example we may refer to the Dhodh inscription of A. D. 1170 speaking of a testing of 16 *drammas* before they were accepted as the price for a house. (*Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmeer*, 1922-1923, p. 2) Such an incident alludes to the existence of a sub-standard coinage.

67. H. Spero, *Money and Banking* (1957), p. 9.

68. See above n. 57. The number of known silver coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas is not great (*CCGSK*, pl.XXV, no. 11 ; *ASI, AR*, 1925-26, pl. XL, no. f ; *East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 161, f. n. 10 ; *JBBRAS*, 1917, vol. XXIV, p. 384 and pl ; *JNSI*, 1940, vol. II, p. 113 ; 1960, vol. XXII, p. 100 ; etc.). These were probably meant for circulation in the province on the lower Indus, which was, unlike North-Western India, still accustomed to the use of a non-debased

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silver currency at the time of its conquest by the Kushāṇas. The reference to a permanent endowment (or rather two endowments ?), consisting of a large number of purāṇas, in a Mathura record of the time of Huvishka (EI. vol. XXI, pp. 60 f) probably indicates that the Kushāṇas allowed the circulation of punch-marked silver pieces in at least parts of their empire. (In this connection see also *JNSI*, 1954, vol. XVI, p. 174). One of the reasons for this was probably the absence of a regular silver coinage meant for use in all provinces of the Kushāṇa empire.

69. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1965, pp. 65-67. See also above Appendix I.

70. R. D. Banerji was inclined to ascribe some copper coins of Sind, found at Mohenjo-Daro, to the Maurya age. (J. Marshall (editor), *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, vol. I, p. 122). But N. G. Majumdar convincingly proved that these should be placed after Vāsudeva I (c. A.D. 141-142 or 144-145 to 175-176) (*Ibid.*, pp. 127-128). Can it be argued that the eleven silver coins found at Sirkap, which display a mounted figure on the obverse and Nike (?) on the reverse and carry no legend (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 188; vol. III pl. 241, no. 209 a, b and c), were struck somewhere in the lower Indus country ? These were found together with a silver piece of Sapedanes (see above n. 46), ascribable to a mint of that area. Even if this theory is correct, the coins without legend could have been struck sporadically by some unofficial agency and might not have been products of any regular official or well-organised mint.

71. *ASI, AR*, 1914-1915, pp. 94-95.

72. See below n. 75.

73. *Ibid.* In this connection see also P. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan*, p. 118.

74. See below n. 75.

75. The gradual transfer of power in certain territories from the successors of Gondophares I (or some other

powers) to the Kushāṇas (or the Sasanids) are indicated by the following coin-types, used by the rulers of these groups for striking coins in identifiable localities, and some other data, noted below.

I. SAKASTANA (SEISTAN) (type-"bust : king seated, holding a bow, being crowned by a female" ; metal-generally debased silver ; legends-generally in the Greek characters) (see above p. 101) - [Orthagnes], [Gondophares I], (1) Sasan[a] (*PIHC*, 1965, p. 65), (2) Abdagases (variations : (a) type-no female figure; (b) legends-Pahlavik or Parthian as well as Greek) (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl. IV, no. 7), (3) Sanabares (variations : (a) type-no female figure ; (b) legends-Pahlavik as well as Greek) (A. K. Markoff, *Monnaies Arasacides inédites*, pl. IV, no. 28 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 1 ; *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl. IV, nos. 11-15).[b] Sanabares (variations : (a) type-no female figure ; (b) metal-bronze)[c] (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl. IV, nos. 16-23),[d] (4) Vindaphar (variations : (a) type-no female figure, (b) legend-Pahlavik or Parthian)[e] (*Ibid.*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl, IV. nos. 24-28 ; see also above p. 143).[f]

Evidence of the Sasanid occupation :—

(A) Al Ṭabarī refers to Ardashīr I's expedition to Sagistan (Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, p. 5) and (B) the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I, the draft of which has been dated to A. D. 262, includes Skstn (Sakastan) or Segistanen in his empire (*Syria*, 1958, p. 336). (C) Several copper coins, bearing a bust on the obverse and a fire altar, flanked by an attendant on each side, on the reverse, have been attributed to one Ardamitra. The name appears on the reverse (*Revue Numismatique*, 1893, p. 52 and pl. II, nos. 1f). The bust, having its hair dressed in Parthian style, has distinct similarity with that on the pieces of Pakores or

Vindaphar or Bannegas (see below explanatory notes ; see also *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 678-679). The delineatons of the altar and the attendants closely follow those of the altar and the attendants on several coins of the Sasanian monarch Ardashīr I (A. D. 224-241) (*NC*, 1965, p. 146 ; R. Göbl *Die Münzen der Sasaniden im Königlichen Munzkabinett Haag*, pl. I, no. 5). These facts may date Ardamitra to the early Sasanian age and suggest that his coins were minted in Arachosia or Seistan, where the Indo-Parthian coins carrying busts had been in circulation. Arachosia, as a part of Kushanshahr, and Seistan might have been incorporated in the Sasanian empire in the days of Aradashīr I. Hence Ardamitra could have been a Sasanian governor in either of these provinces. However, as Kushanshahr seems to have been governed by only Sasanian princes (*JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, p. 27), Ardamitra might have been in charge of Sakastan. The apparent similarity between the weight-standard followed by Ardamitra and that adopted by the Indo-Parthians in Arachosia (*NC*, 1965, p. 145) should also locate his territory near Arachosia, where, however, he could not have ruled. The general fabric of some of Ardamitra's coins, which bear only Pahlavik legend, may be compared with that of the Seistan pieces of Vindaphar, which also bear only Pahlavik inscription. The discoveries of Ardamitra's coins in places like Seistan, Kandahar, Samarkand, Djizak, etc., which are widely separated from one another, may be interpreted as results of their wide diffussion through trade and commerce. However, one faces a great dfficulty in identifying Ardamitra as a governor of Sakastan in the period of Ardashīr, if E. Drouin is considered correct in recognising a reference to the Sasanian emperor Hormizd II in the obverse legend of the coins in question (*Revue Numismatique*, 1893, pp. 49-52). (D) Whatever might have been the correct age and the location of the mint of these species, there cannot be any doubt about the inclusion of Seistan in the Sasanian empire by the time of Ardashīr I. The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I refers to one Ardashīr as Skn MLK' in the days of the emperor Ardashīr I (*Syria*, 1958, p. 323). Whether the Sasanids conquered Sakastan from a Indo-Parthian or some other power is a moot point. That they did not conquer it from the Kushāṇas is quite clear from the fact that the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I distinguishes Skstn or Sakastan from Kushanshar captured by them. There is indeed no definite evidence of the extension of the Kushāṇa rule to Sakastan.

[Explanatory notes : (a) Among the rulers referable to the group of Gondophares I, on the basis of their coins bearing the Gondopharian symbol, mention may be made of Aśpavarman, Sasan, Abdagases, (Sa)pedanes, Satavastra, Sanabares (?) (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 50) and Vindaphar (?) (*Ibid*., p. 50 ; p. 54, pl. IV, no. 25).

(b) There is no definite source indicating Sanabares as a member of the group of Gondophares I. The Gondopharian symbol occurs on at least one (or a few ?) of his bronze species (*Ibid*., p. 54, pl. IV, no. 20). However, the symbol on some of his coins may be favourably compared with that appearing on several coins issued by the Arsacid monarchs Phraates IV (c. 38—2 B. C.), Volagases I (A. D. 51/52—79/80) and Volagases III (A. D. 148—192) (*Ibid*., p. 54, pl. IV, nos. 21—22 ; *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIII, no. 5 ; pl. XXIX, no. 13 ; pl. XXXV, nos. 3-6 ; etc.). Nevertheless, his certain coin-types may perhaps associate him with the age of that group and certain parts of the territories controlled by it (see below the section concerning Arachosia).

(c) On one variety of debased silver coinage the name *S'nbr*, i. e., *Sanabares*, may be noticed in the long Pahlavik legend on the obverse. In the reverse inscription in the Greek characters there may perhaps be a reference to a ruler called Toggidata (?) (*East and West*, pl. IV, no. 13), Sanabares is not mentioned in the reverse legend. This might have been a piece struck by two rulers.

(d) A. Simonetta thinks that these bronze coins bearing the name of Sanabares were struck on the weight standard of silver drachms and were intended to be circulated as such. This should place them after the silver coinage of Sanabares, and they should be attributed, according to Simonetta, to a second Sanabares (*East and West*, 1957, vol, VIII, p. 50). However, the species in question may have been among the latest issues of the same Sanabares, who had earlier struck silver. And since there is no independent evidence suggesting the existence of a second Sanabares, in either Seistan or Arachosia, all coins bearing the name concerned should be ascribed to one ruler called Sanabares.

(e) Some base silver coins display a bust on the obverse and king seated as an archer on the reverse and bear a reverse legend in the Greek script referring to a ruler called Bannegas (?). The remains of a short Pahlavik legend may be traced on the obverse [A. K. Markoff, *Op. cit.*, pl, IX, no. 108 ; there is one piece in the British Museum (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl. IV, no. 8), and another in the collection of the late Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta]. It is not certain whether these coins were minted in Sakastan or at some other mint where the devices concerned were imitated from well-known Arsacid types. There is no evidence to connect Bannegas with the group of Gondophares I. This coin and another silver piece (*Ibid.*, p 54, pl. IV, no. 9) have been wrongly attributed by A. Simonetta to Pakores. The latter coin, which displays no female figure on the reverse, carries a short Pahlavik legend as well as a Greek inscription. The name of its issuer cannot be read with certainty.

(f) Chronology :—Debased silver coins of [Orthagnes], [Gondophares I] (see above pp. 100-101), (1) Sasan and (2) Abdagases (see below the section on Taxila) and the debased silver pieces of Sanabares with short Pahlavik legends

(noticed for the first time in the coin-type of Abdagases) were probably struck in this order. However, if the debased silver pieces of Bannegas, and another ruler mentioned above in n. (d), which carry short Pahlavik legends as well as Greek inscriptions, are to be attributed to Seistan, these might have been struck before Sanabares, one variety of whose coinage carries a long Pahlavik legend [see above n. (c)].

Isolated letters on some of his coins with short Pahlavik legends may denote dates as on Imperial Parthian coins, a variety of which formed the prototype of the Seistan series in question. Thus *tau* and *iota* on two coins (read, as in the cases of the letters on Arsacid coins expressing dates, from right to left) may stand respectively for 300 and 10. Similarly, *tau* and *gamma* on a few coins may denote 300+3. Again, if *tau* and *theta* on a third coin are read from left to right, considering their transposition as a mistake on the part of the die-engraver, then here we may have the dates 300 and 9 (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl. II, nos 11-15).

It is difficult to determine the era to which the years 303, 309 and 310 may be referred. If these are assigned to the Arsacid Era (counted from 247 B. C.), Sanabares may be considered to have been ruling in A. D. 55-56, 61-62 and 62-63. Such a dating for him is perhaps supported by the fact that the fabric and the appearance of the copper coins of Sanabares may be favourably compared with those of the bronze issues of Gotarzes II (who ruled from c.A.D. 38 to 51) (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII. p. 54, pl. IV. nos. 16f; *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXVII, no. 7 *f*.).

Had Sanabares been primarily a ruler of Merv, he might have become related to the group of Gondophares I through service or marriage. Or he might have even wrested a part of the kingdom of that group (see also the section on Arachosia). The use of the Gondopharian symbol by him may allude to his relationship with that group or may

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simply indicate the continuation of the use of a symbol familiar with the coin-makers of a conquered territory. Thus Sanabares could have been responsible either for extending the rule of the group of Gondophares I to the Merv region or for ending its hegemony in Sakastan and also in parts of Arachosia (?)

Nisa was one of the regions where the Arsacid Era is known to have been used [M. A. R. Colledge, *The Parthians*, pp. 71-72]. It is interesting to note that extensive finds of coins of Sanabares are reported from the region of Merv [*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1955, no. 2, pl. facing p. 40, nos. 4 and 5 ; R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, p p.186 and 277] situated not very far from Nisa. Both these localities were once included in the Arsacid empire. The association of Sanabares with the Arsacids, or at least with their coinage, is also indicated by the appearance of an Arsacid symbol on a number of his coins. These premises may tempt one to suggest that he might have either extended his sway into the Merv area from Sakastan (where also his coins bearing the Seistan types have been found) or *vice versa*. (In this connection see also R. N. Frye, Op. cit., p. 180). In either case he issued coins in his new mint with the same types used by him in his older mint.

The Sakastan coins of Sanabares are of both silver and bronze, whereas those of Gondophares I and Abdagases are of silver and those of Vindaphar are of bronze only. So the ruler responsible for introducing bronze into the local currency might have been Sanabares. If this was so, the coins of Vindaphar should be placed in Seistan after the bronze issues of Sanabares. Bronze or copper coins of both these rulers are mainly found in the Seistan region. It is also to be noted that the coins of Vindaphar bears only Pahlavik legends.

If Vindaphar or Gondophares II (see above p. 144) belonged to the house of Gondophares I, he restored its rule in Sakastan. On the other hand, if he belonged to the group of Ṣanabares (and if the latter was not connected with the sept of Gondophares I), the probable use of the Gondopharian symbol on Vindaphar's coins should suggest that his die-engravers used a familiar symbol (just as the mint-masters of the Guptas copied some Kushāṇa symbols in a much later period].

II. ARACHOSIA :—(type-"bust : standing Nike holding a wreath" ; metal-copper ; legends—generally in the Kharoshṭhī and Greek characters) (see above p. 100)-[Orthagnes, Gondophares I and Gudana], [Orthagnes and Guḍrana], [Gondophares I and Gadana], [Gondophares I], (1) Sasan (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 352), (2) Abdagases (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 49 ; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 70 ; *NC*, 1890, pl. XIV, nos. 1-2), (3) Sapedanes (A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 23 ; *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 49), (4) Pakores (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, no. 76),[a] (5) Sata(vastra) (?) (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pp. 50 and 52, pl. II, no. 5),[b] (6) Prahata (variation : legends-Aramaic or Pahlavik as well as Kharoshṭhī legend, but no Greek inscription) (*JNSI*, 1968, vol. XXX, pp. 188-190)[c] and (7) Sanabares (variation : legends—only Greek inscriptions on the obverse and reverse)[d] (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. ii).[e]

Evidence of the Kushāṇa occupation :—

(A) The "Elephant-rider" type of V'ima (?) was struck over a coin of Gondophares I (pl. III, no. 18). This indicates that in the period of Gondophares I or rather, in view of the evidence of the Arachosian pieces of his successors, sometime after his reign Arachosia or at least a part of it was annexed to the Kushāṇa empire.

(B) As it has been pointed out above, the *Hou Han-shu* may perhaps allude to the inclusion of the region concerned in the Kushāṇa empire (see above p. 218).

(C) The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I shows that his empire included Mrgw (Merv), Ḥryw (Herat), Skstn (Seistan), P'rtn, Mkwrn and Twgrn (the last three to be placed in Baluchistan), Ḥndstn or India (including the lower Indus country) and Kwshnḥshtr or Kushanshahr as far as Pshkbwr (Peshawar), K'sh (Kashgarh) and Swgd (Sogdiana) and Sh'sh('st'n) (Tsatsenes oron or the region of Tashkent). The geographical positions of these areas suggest that Kushanshahr or the territory of the Kushāṇas up to Pshkbwr or Peshawar, as captured by the Sasanids from the Kushāṇas, might have Arachosia within its limits.

[Explanatory notes :—(a) The Gondopharian symbol does not occur on the coins of Pakores. Sometimes his coin-types are found struck over coins of Soter Megas = V'ima Kadphises (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 53, pl. III, no. 1).

(b) The cursive forms of the Greek letters *sigma*, *omicron*, *tau* and *omicron* can be very doubtfully read on a piece published by A. Simonetta (*Ibid.*, p. 52, pl. II, no. 5). If this reading is correct, the ruler referred to in the legend concerned (Soto...) may be identified with Satavastra mentioned in the inscriptions on some coins attributed to the lower Indus country.

(c) It is not at all certain whether Prahata of coins was the same as Phraotes of Taxila mentioned in the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, II, 26.

(d) The coins of Sanabares, carrying only Greek legends, might have been meant for circulation in a western area of Arachosia, lying near Sakastan, where Kharoshṭhī might not have been so popular as in other parts of Arachosia. These might have been struck even in a territory in Sakastan bordering on Arachosia for circulation in the border area after Arachosia or at least the major part of it had been occupied by the Kushāṇas. The same observations may be made about a "bust : standing Apollo" coin of Sanabares, which carries only Greek inscriptions (*Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, September, 1969, vol. IV, no. 9, p. 5.) This piece might have been influenced by the "Gondopharian symbol : standing Apollo" coin-type carrying only Kharoshṭhī inscription (*NS*, no. XIV, 1910, pl. XXXIV, no. 17).

(e) Chronology :—Copper coins of [Orthagnes, Gondophares I and Gudana], [Orthagnes and Guḍrana], [Gondophares I and Gadana], [Gondophares I], (1) Sasan and (2) Abdagases were struck in the same order as mentioned here (see above pp. 98f and below the section concerning Taxila). The fabric and the general appearance of the coins of Sapedanes and Pakores are more akin to those of Abdagases than to those of Sata(vastra) and Prahata. This suggests that the coins of Sapedanes and Pakores, struck in the mint concerned, are to be dated earlier than those of Sata(vastra) and Prahata produced from the same mint. Since Pakores re-struck some pieces of SoterMegas = V'ima Kadphises, the rule of Satavastra as well as of Prahata in Arachosia, to be dated before the Kushāṇa occupation of that territory in the days of V'ima, was probably very short. If, as it appears from the available evidence, the copper issues of the Indo-Parthian mint of Arachosia betray a gradual degeneration of the style of execution, then the pieces of Prahata should be placed after the coin of Sata(vastra). As we have already noted (see above n. (d) of this section), the coins of Sanabares might not have been struck in the same mint which produced other Arachosian pieces discussed here, and might have been minted after the Kushāṇa occupation of at least a part of Arachosia. Stylistically these are comparable with the Arachosian coins of Pakores, probably a contemporary of Soter Megas = V'ima Kadphises, who was ultimately successful against the Indo-Parthians in Arachosia. This inference again indicates that the interval between the reign of Pakores and the Kushāṇa occupation of Arachosia was very short].

III. TAXILA :—(types-(a) "mounted king : standing Zeus holding a sceptre" ; and (b) "mounted king : standing Zeus Nikephoros" ; metal-very much debased silver, billon or copper ; inscriptions-in the Greek and Kharoshṭhī characters) (see above pp. 170-171)—[Azes II (types a and b)] (see above p 174), [Arsakes Dikaios] (type a) (see above pp. 95-97), [Gondophares I and Aśpavarman (type a)] (see above p. 88), [Gondophares I (type a)] (see above p. 102), [Gondophares I and Sasan (types a and b)[b] (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, nos. 19-20), (1) Sasan (type a) (*NC*, 1950, pp. 222-223),[c] (2) Abdagases (types a and b)[d] (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, nos. 61 and 64) and (3) Phraotes[e] (Philostratus, *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, II, 8, 10, 17, 19 etc.).[f]

Evidence of the Kushāṇa occupation :—

(A) See n. (e) below.

(B) Copper coins of Kujula Kadphises displaying Zeus standing with a sceptre on the reverse have been attributed to Taxila (see above p. 135).

(C) The Taxila inscription of the year 136 referring to Maharaja Devaputra Khushaṇa (*CII*, vol. II. pt. I, p. 77).

[Explanatory notes :—(a) It may be pointed out that the authority of Pakores over Taxila was surmised by E. J. Rapson on the basis of the assumption that Sasan's silver coins found at Sirkap were produced at Taxila and were stamped with the bust of Pakores (*CHI*, vol. I, pp. 580-581 ; see also *CII*, vol. II, pt. II, p. XLVII ; *AIU*, p. 130 ; *PHAI*, pp. 54-55 ; etc.).

We have already seen that Sasan's silver coins should be located in the lower Indus country. And, as R. B. Whitehead has shown, there is no reason to believe that Sasan's issues bear the bust of any ruler other than that of himself (*Taxila*, vol. II. pp. 839-840). So the species do not indicate Sasan's subordination to Pakores.

(d) Sasan is described on some of his coins as the son of the brother of Aśpa (A.K. Narain and G.K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 20), who has been identified with Aśpavarman (*NC*, 1944, p. 101). The Kharoshṭhī inscription *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devavratasa Guduvharasa Sasasa* appears as the reverse legend on two classes of his coins, one bearing "a mounted king" and "Zeus Nikephoros" devices (A. K.

Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit*, p. 20) and the other "an equestrian figure" and "Zeus standing with a sceptre" types (*Ibid.*).

A. Simonetta thinks that the word *devavrada* does not actually occur on these coins and that the word *goridhramiasa* precedes the name of Gondophares on the pieces of the first group (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 49). But our examination of some relevant pieces show that the word *devavrada* or *devavrata* actually appears on these coins. The word *goridhramiasa* cannot be definitely read on the photographs of the two coins published by Simonetta (*Ibid.*, pl. III, nos. 2-3). So we cannot accept any theory based on the assumption of the presence of the word *goridhramiasa* on these two classes of coins. On the obverse of the first (*NC*, 1950, p. 221) and probably also of the second of these two groups of species we can see the Greek inscrirtion *Basileuontos Basileon Sasou*. These legends indicate that Sasan was Gondophares I's co-ruler at least in the region of Taxila. It is interesting to note that while Gondophares I's name is found only in the Kharoshṭhī inscription, Sasan is alluded to both in the Kharoshṭhī and in the Greek legends. Among the coin-legends in Kharoshṭhī and Greek those in Greek were probably considered by the Indo-Parthians as more inportant (see above p. 87). This suggests that at least for some time Sasan was in fact more important than Gondophares I in the area concerned, and that his allegiance to the latter was nominal.

(c) Another group of Sasan's species, displaying the king on horse on the obverse and Zeus standing with a sceptre on the reverse (*NC*, 1950, pp. 222-223), bears on the reverse the Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa...... vasa Apratihatachakrasa Devavratasa Sasasa*. The obverse inscription cannot be read with any degree of certainty. However, the reverse inscription itself indicates, as Whitehead suggests, Sasan as the sole and supreme monarch (*Ibid.*).

Sasan's *de jure* independent rule in Taxila, demonstrated by these coins, was a logical development of the situation in which he owed nominal allegiance to Gondophares I. And since there is no gainsaying the possibility of at least the theoretical supremacy of Gondophares I over the Taxila region till his last known date, April, A. D. 46 (Appendix II), the coins of Sasan in question should be assigned to sometime after that period. On the other hand, as Taxila came under the control of Phraotes by about June or July of A. D. 46 or shortly after (see above p. 187), the *de jure* independent rule of Sasan in Taxila should be placed before the latter date.

(d) A. Simonetta wants to place the rule of one Aṭhama, known from a gold medal in Taxila after Sasan. But since he has not adduced any reason for his view, we are not obliged to accept ft. There are, however, grounds to suggest that Phraotes probably did not conquer Taxila from Sasan himself. Between these two kings another monarch seems to have ruled in that area.

Some coins, bearing either "king on horse" and "Zeus Nikephoros" (A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 18-19) or "king on horse" and "Zeus standing with a sceptre" (*Ibid.*) types and attributable to the mint of Taxila, refer to king Abdagases as the son of the brother of Gondophares. Rapson thought that none of these coins attributed any imperial title to Abdagases, and that they should refer to his rule as a subordinate of Gondophares (I) (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 580 ; see also *PHAI*, pp. 454 f ; *CSHI*, p. 70 ; *AIU*, p. 129 ; EHNI, p. 69 ; etc). But none of the legends concerned indicates this. Moreover, some of the inscriptions under discussion ascribe royal titles, and a few even imperial titles, only to Abdagases and not to Gondophares I (A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-19). Hence the appearance of the name of Gondophares I can only indicate his relationship with Abdagases and not his suzerainty.

According to W. W. Tarn, the expressions *Basileus*

Basileuon and *Basileuontos* on different issues of Abdagases indicate that he was not an independent king (W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edition, p. 354). But Tarn himself has admitted that the first expression means "under the rule of king Abdagases" and that the second title appears on some coins of Antimachus and Agathocles. The first expression does not necessarily denote a subordinate position. Moreover, we believe that the reading is wrong. It seems that the phrase does not occur on any coin of Abdagases. Since Antimachus and Agathocles are not hnown to have been subordinate rulers, the expression *Basileuontos* cannot definitely indicate a subordinate position. It is interesting to note that Ptolemaic papyri often open with the phrase *Basileuontos Ptolemaiou*. There is no reason to believe that this expression refers to a sub-king (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 66). In several of the Avroman documents the Imperial Parthian monarchs have been referred to by the title *Basileuontos Basileon* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1915, vol. XXXV, pp. 28, 30, etc,).

A. Cunningham ascribed the pieces of Abdagases referring to him as a nephew of Gondophares (I) to a period of dependency, and attributed the species bearing his bust to the time of his independent reign (*NC*, 1890, p. 119 ; see also *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 61; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol.II, pp. 215-216; etc.). However, the legends of the coins of Abdagases mentioning Gondophares I only indicates the relationship between the two. Not a single legend on the species of Abdagases refers to Gondophares I without associating him with Abdagases (A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 18 ; *NC*, 1950, p. 225). J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw also assumes that Abdagases was always an independent ruler (*Scythian Period*, p. 361).

Thus Abdagases reigned in Taxila after the rule of Gondophares I. However, since the former is described in the coin-legends as the son of the brother of the latter, his species may not be dated long after his reign. Again, the facts that Gondophares I's immediate successor in Taxila was Sasan, and that the area was long occupied by the Kushāṇas after Phraotes (see above p. 187), oblige us to date the reign of Abdagases in this territory between the rules of Sasan and Phraotes. So Phraotes probably conquered Taxila from Abdagases, who might have previously ousted Sasan from that region.

(e) Phraotes, as it appears from the description of Philostratus, ruled over a substantial territory to the west of the Indus above its junction with the Cophen (or the Kabul) as well as some areas, including Taxila, lying to the east of the Indus and extending up to the Hydraotes (or the Ravi) (Philostratus, *Op. cit.*, II, 8, 10, 17, 19, 20 and 32 ; see also above p. 149). The exact ralationship between Phraotes and the group of Gondophares I is not clear. However, it appears from the account of Philostratus that the grandfather of Phraotes ruled somewhere between the Indus and the Hydraotes. After his death the authority over his kingdom was usurped by some conspirators. Later Phraotes regained the throne (Philostratus, *Op. cit.*, II, 31f). Phraotes might have occupied Taxila after this. It is not impossible that he captured Taxila from Abdagases.

It appears from Philostratus' account of the conversation between Apollonius and Phraotes that the latter used to pay money to a brigade of barbarians living on the border of his territory and making raids into it, and that they, in return, protected his kingdom from another group of barbarians also inhabiting the frontier (*Ibid.*, II, 26). It has been suggested that one of these two groups of barbarians included the Kushāṇas (*AIU*, p. 132). This suggestion is substantiated by the testimonies of two important sources. Strabo stated that " the southern parts of the Paropomisus (*or the Hindu-Kush*) belong to India and Ariana ; but as for the parts towards the north, those towards the west belong to the Bactrians, (*whereas those towards the east*) belong to the Bactrians of the Barbarians" (*Italics ours*) (*Strabo*, XV, 2, 10). The topographical position of the area under the Barbarian Bactrians indicates that it lay in or near Ta-hsia, which by the date of Strabo's work was dominated by the Yüeh-chih, or rather the Kushāṇas. The Kushāṇas or the Yüeh-chih, to which race the Kushāṇas belonged, were referred to in the *Periplus* as Bactrian [*Periplus*, sec. 47 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan*, *The Kushsāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I, pp. 107-108]. So Philostratus might have, *inter alia*, alluded to the Kushāṇas by the term *Bactrian*. Had he really done so, the kingdom of Phraotes was under the threat of the Kushāṇa invasion even at the time of the visit of Apollonius to Taxila. The actual invasion took place in or shortly after the reign of Phraotes (see above p. 187).

(f) Chronology : Different coins of Gondophares I and his successors attributable to the Taxila mint were probably struck in the same chronological order as they are mentioned in the first paragraph of this section].

IV. GANDHĀRA (to the west of the Indus) (type-"mounted king : standing armed Pallas" ; metal—very debased silver, or billon, or copper ; legends—in the Kharoshṭhī and Greek scripts) (see above pp. 168-169)—[Azes II and Itravarman] (see above p. 168), [Azes II and Aśpavarman] (see aboe p. 168), [Gondophares I] (see above p. 102) and Phraotes (see above section III, n. d).[a]

Evidence of the Kushāṇa occupation :

(A) The *Periplus* refers to the very warlike nation of the Bactrians living above the countries of the Arattii, the Arachosii, the Gandaraei and the people of Proclais (sec. 47). We have shown elsewhere that the territory of these Bactrians was that of the Yüeh-chih or of one of its branches, the Kushāṇa (B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan*, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I, pp. 107-108). The *Periplus* seems to allude to the presence of the Yüeh-chih or the Kushāṇas in an area contiguous to or near the region of the Gandaraei, i. e., Gandhāra, and Proclais or Pushkalāvatī (which generally formed a part of Gandhāra). The Yüeh-chih or the Kushāṇas could have moved into the area concerned sometime after their conquest of Ta-hsia.

(B) The extension of the Kushāṇa rule into Gandhāra itself is perhaps indicated by some copper coins of Kujula Kadphises displaying elephant on one side and bull on the other (see above p. 135). (Does the letter *pu* on some of these coins stand for the mint of Pushkalāvatī ?)

(C) An inscription, found near Panjtar, situated in or near ancient Gandhāra, records some meritorious deeds in the year 122 and during the reign of Maharaya Gushaṇa (= Mahārāja Kushāṇa) (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 70).

(D) The absence of coins of Sasan and Abdagases attributable to Gandhāra to the west of the Indus probably suggests that the area concerned might not have been under them. If such an inference is valid, this territory could have been occupied by Phraotes or partly by him and partly by the Kushāṇas immediately after the end of the rule of Gondophares I. Later the Kushāṇas captured the whole area.

[Explanatory notes : (a) The coins of Azes II and Itravarman, Azes II and Aśpavarman, Gondophares I, and Kujula Kadphises were struck in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus in the same order as they are mentioned here.].

V. THE LOWER INDUS COUNTRY :—(type—"bust : standing Nike holding a wreath" ; metal—good silver ; inscriptions—in the Kharoshṭhī and Greek scripts (see above pp. 219)—[Gondophares I],(1) Sasan,[a] (2) Sapedanes, (3) Satavastra and (4) Aga......[b] (see above pp. 219 f).[c]

Evidence of the Kushāṇa occupation :

(A) Good silver pieces of V'ima Kadphises bearing the types mentioned above in this section may be attributed to the lower Indus region (see above p. 221).

(B) The reference in the *Hou Han-shu* to the conquest of Shen-tu (to be located in the lower Indus country) by Yen-kao-chen or V'ima Kadphises indicates the Kushāṇa occupation of that territory (see above p. 218).

[Explanatory notes : (a) We have already noted that the rulers represented in the Sirkap hoard, discussed above, ruled over at least a part of the lower Indus country, and that among them was Sasan. The Kharoshṭhī inscription *Maharajasa Aśpabhratapatrasa tratarasa Sasasa* on Sasan's coins found in the Sirkap hoard definitely tends to distinguish their issuer as an independent sovereign.

One of these pieces of Sasan is a re-struck one. His types ("bust : Nike") are found struck over a coin probably having similar devices (*Taxila*, vol. III, pl. 241, no. 208). It appears that Sasan conquered at least a part of the lower Indus country from the issuer of the original piece. And traces of an Indo-Parthian head as well as the combination of types ("bust and Nike") on the coin concerned may indicate that the issuer in question was a member of the group of Gondophares I. As it is difficult to believe that Sasan could overthrow Gondophares I completely from any region—and indeed in Taxila the former acknowledged at least the theoretical superiority of the latter—we should consider the defeated ruler as someone else. On the other hand, as Gondophares I and Sasan were contemporaries, there might not have been any appreciable interval between their independent reigns in the lower Indus country. Hence, it seems that Sasan captured at least a part of that territory from an immediate successor of Gondophares I.

Thus Sasan probably did not capture the area in question before April, A.D. 46, the last known date of Gondophares I. On the other hand, he probably ruled in the lower Indus area or at least a part of it before it was annexed to the Kushāṇa empire in the days of V'ima Kadphises.

(b) The Kharoshṭhī legend on the silver species of Sapedanes yielded by the Sirkap hoard is *Rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa (Sa)pedana*(or *ṇa*)*sa*. Satavastra's silver coins, coming from the same source, bear the Kharoshṭhī inscription......*rasa Satavastrasa maharajasa.* These legends certain lyimply the independence of the rulers concerned. The titles on another coin from the same hoard, the only piece attributed to Aga...(?), cannot be read, and so his status cannot be determined. However, it seems that they should be placed in the lower Indus area after the rule of Sasan, who reigned there shortly, if not immediately, after Gondophares I. On the other hand, the three rulers in question were in power in that area probably before it or at least a part of it was captured by V'ima Kadphises.]

VI. AN AREA TO THE EAST OF THE JHELUM (INCLUDING MATHURĀ) :—(type—"bust : standing armed Pallas" ; metal—debased silver (Strato group of rulers and Rājuvula) and copper (Gondophares I and Kujula Kadphises) ; legends—in the Greek and Kharoshṭhī scripts)[a] (see above pp. 146, n. 226)—[Strato group], [Rājuvula] (see above p. 178) and [Gondophares I][a] (see above p. 146, n. 226).[b]

Evidence of the Kushāṇa occupation :—

(A) A copper coin of Kujula Kadphises (?) in the British Museum having a bust on the obverse and standing armed Pallas on the reverse may be attributed to an area to the east of the Jhelum (see above p. 228).

[Explanatory notes :—(a) It may be noted here that an impression of a seal matrix on clay (the number of the negative of the photograph of which in the collection of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, is 2322/65) displays the figure of standing Pallas facing left and holding a shield and a thunderbolt, as on coins of Gondophares I attributed to an area to the east of the Jhelum. The Kharoshṭhī inscription (IX) *Rajarajasa tratarasa Gadavharasa* can be noticed in the seal impression. If the

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impression is from a genuine seal matrix of a ruler called Gadavhara, which is not beyond doubt, he can be identified with Gondophares I. It will be then an additional evidence of his rule in the territory concerned.

(b) The coins of the Strato group, Rājuvula and Gondophares I were struck in the same order as they are mentioned here (see above p. 146)].

VI. MATHURĀ :—(types—(a) "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī : three elephants", (b) "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī : mounted king", (c) "standing goddess : *abhisheka* of Lakshmī", (d) "standing goddess and the Gondopharian symbol : horse", and (e) "Gondopharian symbol : horse" ; metal-silver (type b) and copper (types a, c. d and e) ; inscriptions—in the Greek and Kharoshṭhī (type b) and in the Brāhmī characters (types a, c, d and e) (see above p. 146, n. 226 and pp. 172-173)—[Balabhūti, etc.,] (type a) (J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pl. XXV, no. 22), [Azilises (type b) (see above p. 172)], [Rājuvula (type c) (see above p. 172)], [Śoḍāsa (type c) (see above p. 173)], [Toraṇadāsa (type c) (see above p. 173)], (1) Hagāmasha (type d) (J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI. no 1), (2) Hagāmasha and Hagāna (type e) (*ibid.*, pl. XXVI, no. 6) and (3) Śivadatta (type d) (*ibid.*, pl. XXV, no. 26) (see above p. 146, n. 226)[a].

Evidence of the Kushāṇa occupation :—

(A) An inscription, found at Mat near Mathurā, indicates the erection of a devakula during the reign of Vima, identifiable with V'ima Kadphises (see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāna Genealogy, Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol, I, pp. 56 f).

(B) It appears that an area to the east of the Jhelum was included in the dominions of Gondophares I sometime after Rājavula. The extension of the rule of Gondopheres I to Mathurā itself can be considered to have been a fact if we can recognise the Gondopharian symbol appearing on coins of Kshatrapa Hagāmasha, Kshatrapa Hagāna and Kshatrapa Śivadatta (see above p. 146, n. 226). (Compare *PMC*, vol. I. pl. XV, no. 61 with J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXV. no. 26). The outlandish names of Hagāna and Hagāmasha and the Gondopharian symbol on the coins of these rulers and Śivadatta may suggest that they were related to the group of Gondophares I. The obverse types of both Śivadatta and Hagāmasha are related to those of Rājuvula and his son Śoḍāsa and Toraṇadāsa, while neither the obverse nor the reverse type of the joint coinage of Hagāmasha and Hagāna can be related to the group of Rājuvula. This suggests that the coins of the group of Rājuvula was followed by those of Śivadatta and then by the species of Hagāmasha. The coins struck jointly by Hagāmasha and Hagāna should be placed after the pieces minted by Hagāmasha alone. The title *Kshatrapa*, ascribed to Śivadatta, Hagāmasha and Hagāna, may indicate their dependence on the group of Gondophares I. It is also not impossible that, as in some other cases, the title concerned did not convey their real status. They might have been even independent members of the group of Gondophares I. Śivadatta himself might have been an Indianised foreigner.

Immediately or shortly after these rulers Mathurā was conquered by the Kushāṇas.

[Explanatory notes :- (a) Chronology—see the last but one paragraph].

The above discussion seems to establish that the extension of the Kushāṇa hegemony into the different parts of the Indo-Parthian dominions was gradual, and that at least Sakastana of all Indo-Parthian provinces was never annexed to the Kushāṇa empire.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. P. 35,

n. 34. Add the following after "etc." in line no. 34 :

The identification of the Indus of the statement of Orosius with the great river of the same name goes against P. Daffina's suggestion, given in his *L'immigrazione dei Saka nella Drangiana* (Rome, 1967), that the evidence of Orosius does not connect Mithridates I with India. (In this connection see also *BSOAS*, 1969, vol. XXXII, p. 163).

2. P. 120,

n. 83. Add the following after "pp. 12f." in line no. 4 :

For an account of the cultural history of Parthyene or the nucleus of the Parthian empire, see the relevant pages in G. A. Košelenko, *Kul'tura Parthii*, Moscow, 1966. For information on the Parthian polity, see J. Newsner, "Parthian Political Ideology", *Iranica Antiqua*, 1963, vol. III, pp. 39-54.

3. P. 130,

n. 157. Add the following after "p. 3" in line no. 12 :

The coin reproduced in *JNSI* , 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pl. II, no. 4, illustrates only the types used by Azilises for striking over types of Spalirises. It may be pointed out that a square copper piece of Spalirises, which M. F. C. Martin has considered as carrying devices struck over a coin of Azilises (*NS*, 1929, no. XLII, p. 73), does not betray any sign of re-striking (*Ibid.*, pl. V, no. 6).

4. P. 131,

n. 169b. Add the following after the sentence ending with the word "period" in line no. 30 :

E.J. Rapson's theory dating the epoch of the rule of Vonones to c. 30 B. C. is based on the assumption that Azes, the associate of Vonones' successor Spalirises, was Azes II (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 573). However, it is now definitely known that Azes in question was Azes I (see above p. 87). We cannot also accept S. Konow's suggestion that Vonones should be identified with his namesake, who was on the Imperial Parthian throne from A. D. 7/8 to 12, and that he ruled in "the eastern provinces" for some time ealier than 10 B. C. and before he ascended the imperial throne (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XLIII). It is impossible to date Vonones of Arachosia to any year near 10 B.C. We have to place at least the major part of Azes II's rule and the periods of Azilises and Azes I and also the independent reign of Spalirises before A. D. 20-21 and after Vonones.

On coins of Spalyris and Spalagadama, the contemporaries of Vonones, appear the square forms of *sigma*, *omicron* and *omega* (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 143). Rapson thought that the second form should indicate a date not earlier than c. 40 B. C. (*CHI*, vol. I, p. 57). L. Bachhofer assumes that the square forms of *sigma* and *omicron* denote a date later than c. 40 B. C., and that the square *omega* indicates a period between c. A. D. 10 and 40. (*JAOS*, 1941, vol. XLI, p. 233). We, however, cannot be so dogmatic about the dates of these forms. Square *omicron* appeared sporadically at Athens from the 3rd century B. C., and again at Susa in an inscription of 98 B.C. (W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition, p. 326). Moreover, the square shapes of *sigma*, *omega* and *omicron* on the coins in question may be the earliest examples of the use of such forms in the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Hence these particular

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forms need not indicate a comparatively late date for Spalyris or Spalagadama.

5. P. 135.

n, 184. Add the following after "pp. 175-176" and before the end of the bracket in line no. 18 :

1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 555, f. n. 7.

6. P. 177.

n. 7, Add the following after "no. 308." in line no. 6 : Does the Kharoshṭhī letter *a* on some copper coins bearing the name of Azes and displaying the bull-type of Pushkalāvatī refer to Ambā, the city-deity of Pushkalāvatī ?

7. P. 177.

n. 20. Add the following after the sentence ending in line no. 28 :

An attempt to connect the Pallas type of the coins of the Azes group with Pushkalāvatī is perhaps indicated by certain coins of Azes II, which seem to show her as holding in her right hand a flower (representing the lotus of the deity of Pushkalāvatī ?) (*PMC*, pl. XI, nos. 157 and 158 ; *NC*, 1890, pl. VIII, no. 12 ; etc.).

8. P. 178,

n. 34. Add the following after the sentence ending in line no. 21 :

A coin of Azilises, published by H. H. Wilson, displays on the obverse the equestrian king holding a spear and shows on the reverse a standing figure of a female holding a palm-branch and a wreath. It bears a variety of the monogram noticeable on several pieces of the same ruler bearing a goddess with a lamp and a palm-branch (compare *CCGSK*, pl. XVII, pl. XX, no. 9, with H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. VIII, no. 6).

9. P. 180.

n. 43. Add the following after the sentence ending in line no. 9 :

It may also be noted that Kharahostes, described as a satrap in coin-legends, struck several copper coins, none of which can be confidently ascribed to Mathura. The devices on his coins (equestrian figure to right holding spear : lion to right ; and equestrian figure to right or left holding whip : Hermes) should rather indicate him as a satrap of North-Western India. [We are not certain whether *Takha* (or *Tikha* ?) on a few of his "mounted male with spear : lion" coins (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, no. 51) alludes to the Taxila mint].

10. P. 180.

n. 49. Add the following after the end of n. 49 in line no. 36 :

The deity on the coins concerned, wearing a mural crown and holding a cornucopia, may well represent the city of Pushkalāvatī (B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā on Lion – A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, p. 73). Copper coins of Jihoṇika, carrying a humped bull to right on one side and a lion to right on the other (*NC*, 1890, pl. X, no. 1 ; *PMC*, vol. 1, pl, XVI, no. 84), bear an ornamented form of *Pu* or *Phu*. It is not certain whether such a letter stands for Pukhalavadi or Phukhalavadi (= Pushkalāvatī). The ordinary form of *Pu* occurs on a few "bull : lion"coins. As G.K. Jenkins has shown, Azes II's species bearing the bull and lion types may be attributed to Western Gandhāra (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 4).The Taxila area might have been includedn Chukhsa which was, described in a Taxila inscription of the year 191 as his satrapy (*CII*, vol. II,pt. I, p. 82 ; see also above p. 206, n. 8),

D, W. MacDowall thinks that Zeionises, originally a satrap of Azes II, later asserted his independence (*Bhāratī*, 1966-68, vol. X-XI, p. 209). However, it should be remembered that Zeionises

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never used any royal title. This remains inexplicable if he struck coins as a king in an area and an age which were accustomed to royal coinage bearing high sounding titles. The device portraying the city-deity crowning him may indicate his appointment as a ruler of Pushkalāvatī, and may typologically betray the influence of the Arsacid coin-type showing the king accepting diadem from Tyche. Similarly, the type showing Zeionises as being crowned by Nike and a male figure may commemorate some kind of investiture ceremony, when he was honoured by his overlord after a victory. Though these suggestions may not convince all, there is nothing to prove that Zeionises was ever a king. However, he was probably a powerful satrap.

11. P. 181,
n. 54. Add the following after the end of n. 54 in line no. 14 :

For H. Humbach's interpretation of the epigraph of Tiravharṇa, see the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1968, vol. XI, no. 1, pp. 29-33.

12 P. 193,
n. 25. Add the following after the end of n. 25 in line no. 34 :

For other interpretations of the term *Chin-pin* see N. C. Sen, *Account of India and Kash-mir in the Dynastic Histories of the T'ang Period* (Santiniketan, 1968), (first published in the *Viśva-Bhāratī Annals*, 1968. vol XI), pp. 5-12.

13. P. 194,
n. 34. Add the following after the end of n. 35 in the line no. 34 :

However, the latest possible date for the year 191 may perhaps be placed even before A. D. 55. We have already shown that Apollonius, whose journey to India is described in the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, visited Taxila in or after June or July, A. D. 46 (see above p. 187). It appears from the context that the visit took place probably not long after, if not in, June or July of A. D. 46. So when this treatise stated that the Indian money consisted of orichalcum and black brass (II, 7), it probably referred to conditions prevailing in c. A. D. 46. D. W. MacDowall points out that black brass probably meant billon coins as used by the family of Gondophares I (*Bhāratī*, 1966-68, vol. X-XI, p. 208). So Zeionises, who did not mint billon, should be dated before the days of the rule of Gondophares I in North-Western India or at least before c. A. D. 46. This means that if Zeionises of coins was the same as Jihoṇika of the Taxila epigraph, the year 191 mentioned should be placed before A. D. 46.

All these data support the hypothesis that Zeionises (Jihoṇika), who minted bad and also good silver pieces (a few of which are now in the Singhi collection of Calcutta), was a contemporary of Azilises as well as of Azes II. This inference modifies the theory of D. W. MacDowall, which (on the strength of the evidence of the pattern of the coin-denominations of Zeionises, the quality of the silver used by him, the employment by him of Kharoshṭhī letters as mint-control marks, the appearance of legible Kharoshṭhī and illegible Greek legends on his coins, etc.) dates him to the period of Azes II only (*Bhāratī*, 1966-68, vol. X-XI, pp. 207-208).

14. P. 209,

n. 41. Add the following after the sentence ending in line no. 18 :

(Chi-chu might have ended his reign in c. 158 B. C. according to certain chronological data in the *Shih-chi* ; see B. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. II, pp. 173-175).

15. P. 254,

n. 75. Add the following in a separate paragraph after line no 31 :

For getting a general idea of the coin series discussed in the present treatise, the readers may consult the following works in addition to those noted above.

J. N. Banerjea, "Coinage", *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 777-809 ; M. V. D. Mohan, *The Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 1 f ; A. K. Srivastava, *Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins in the State Museum, Lucknow*, pp. XI f ; *Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, vol. XII (prepared under the direction of M. W. Künding and his assistant M. L. Neville), pp. 161-162 ; D. Drouin, "Chronologie et Numismatique des Rois Indo-Scythes (Yué-tchi, Kouchans, Tourouchka)", *Revue Nnmismatique*, 1888, pp. 185-221 ; Göbl, R,, "Die Münzprägung der Kuśān, von Vima Kadphises bis Barhām Iv", (F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*), pp. 173-256 ; Th. Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine* (translation of the *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens* by J. Le Duc De Blacas),. vol. III, pp. 337-338 ; etc.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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AIU	Majumdar, R. C. (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity, The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. II, Bombay, 1951.
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenländes*, Leipzig.
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, Calcutta and Delhi.
BÉFEO	*Bulletin de* l'*École Francaise d'Extreme - Orient*, Hanoi and Paris.
Bégram	Ghirshman, R., *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans, Mémories de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XII, Cairo, 1946.
B G	*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. I, pts. I and II, Bombay, 1896.
BSOAS	*The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.

CAH	Cook, S. A., Adcock, F. E. C., Charlesworth, M. P. (editors), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vols. IX-XI, Cambridge, 1932-1936.
CCGSK	Gardner, P., *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum,* London, 1886.
CCIM	Smith, V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, Oxford, 1906.
CHI	Rapson, E. J. (editor), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. l—*Ancient India* Cambridge, 1922.
CHS	Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han-shu*, (T'ung-wen shü-chu edition).
CII	Konow, S., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I,—*Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions With the Exception of Those of Aśoka*), Calcutta, 1929.

Coins of Parthia	Wroth, W., *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Musium, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, London, 1903.
Com. His. Ind.	Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II—*The Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas*, 325 *B. C.—A. D. 300*, Calcutta, 1957.
CSHI	Allan, J., Haig, T. W., and Dodwell, H. H., *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Cambridge, 1934.
EHNI	Chattopadhyaya, S., *Early History of North India, From the Fall of the Mauryas to the Death of Harsha*, c. 200 *B. C.—A. D.* 650, 1st edition, Calcutta, 1958.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta and Delhi.
Epitome (or *Justin*)	Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* (edited by Regnier, A., Paris, 1849).
Eranshahr	Marquart, J., "Erānshahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i,"

	Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, *ns*, vol. III, pt. 2 (1899-1901).
HHS	Fan ,Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pie-yao edition).
His. Ad. Pag.	Orosius, P., *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII* (edited by Zangemeister, C., Leipzig, 1889).
IA	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IHQ	*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JAI	*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven (Connecticut).
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
JASB	*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.

JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
JNSI	*The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, Bombay and Varanasi.
JPASB	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JRAS	*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
Karlgren	Karlgren, B., *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923.
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta and Delhi.
McCrindle, *Ptolemy*	*McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (edited by Majumdar-Sastri, S.N.) Calcutta, 1927.
Nanjio	Nanjio, B., *A Catalogue of Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883.
NC	*The Numismatic Chronicle (and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society)*, London.

NH	*Naturalis Historia* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 10 vols., London and Cambridge, Mass. 1956-1963).
NS	Numismatic Supplement (of the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta).
Oxford Classical Dictionary	Cary, M. *et al.*, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (reprint), Oxford, 1961.
Parthia	Debevoise, N. C., *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago, 1937.
Pauly	Vissowa, G. (editor), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893—.
PCDK	*Proceedings of the Conference on the Date of Kanishka I* (held under the auspices of *the* School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1960 and now published as volume no. IV in the Oriental Monograph Series of the Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies;

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	see A. L. Basham (editor), *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Leiden, 1968).
Periplus	*Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* or *Periplus Maris Erythraei* [Frisk, H. (editor), *Le Périple de la Mar Érythrée*, Göteborg, 1927.]
PHAI	Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), Calcutta, 1950.
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
PMC	Whitehead, R.B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I—*Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914.
Ptolemy	Ptolemy, C., *Geographike Huphegesis* (edited by Nobbe, C. F. A., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1898).
Schoff, *Periplus*	Schoff, W. H. (translator), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912.
SC	Ssu-ma Ch'ien (and Ssu-ma T'an), *Shih-chi* (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition).

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Scythian Period or *The "Scythian Period"*	Lohuizen-De Leeuw, J. E. Van, *The "Scythian" Period, An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949.
SI	Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I—*From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A. D.* (1st edition), Calcutta, 1942.
Strabo	Starbo, *Geographikon* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 8 vols., reprint, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1959-1967).
Tacitus, *Annals*	Tacitus, P. C., *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 3 vols., London and New York, 1931-1937).
Taisho Tripiṭaka	Takakusu, J. and Watanabe, K. (editors), *Taisho Issaikyo*, Tokyo, 55 vols., 1924-1935.
Taxila	Marshall, J., *Taxila, An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out Under the Order of the*

	Government of India Between the Years 1913 and 1934, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951.
TP	*T'oung Pao*, Leiden.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
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(1) LITERATURE

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B. CHINESE

Ch'en Shou	*San-Kuo-Chih* (Po-na edition).
Chi-chia-yeh and T'an-yao (translators)	*Fu fa-tsng yin yüan chuan* (*Nanjio*, no. 1340 ; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 2058).
Fan Yeh	*Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition ; for a translation of chapter 118, see Chavannes, E, "Les Pays d'Occident d'Après le *Heou Han chou*," *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 149-235).
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	(editor), *Ho-chiao shui-ching-chu*, 1892 ; for a translation of the *Shui-ching-chu*, see L. Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu*, Serie Orientale Roma, no. II, Roma, 1950).
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Nanjio, B.	*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883.
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C. GREEK and LATIN

Agatharchides	*Peri Tes Erythras Thalasses* (Muller, C., *Geographi Graeci Minoris*, vol. I, Paris, 1855, pp. 189 f).
Ammianus Marcellinus	*Res Gestae* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 3 vols., London and Cambridge, Mass., 1935-1939).
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D. MIDDLE IRANIAN, PERSIAN and ARABIC

Al-Ṭabarī	*Tārīkh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk*, [de Goeje, M.J., *Selections from the Annals of Tabarī*, Semitic Study Series, no. 1, Leiden, 1902 ; Barth, J., De Goeje, M. J. and others (editors), *Annales auctore Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir-at-Tabari*, 15 vols., Khayats, Beirut, 1965; see also Nöldeke, Th., *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, aus der arabischen des Tabari*, Leiden, 1879].
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E. SANSKRIT and PRAKRIT

Vālmīki	*Rāmāyaṇa* (edited by Parab, K. P., 2 vols., Bombay, 1888 ; edition of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960-).
Vyāsa	*Mahābhārata* (edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1933-1966).
....	*Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* (known in different versions) (see above pp. 52-53) (Brown, N., *The Story of Kālaka*, Washington, 1933 ; Nawab, S. M., *The Collection of the Kālaka Story*, 2 pts., Ahmedabad, 1959).

F. SYRIAC

Bardesan	*Book of the Laws of Countries* (Cureton, W., *Spicilegium Syriacum, Containing Remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose and Mara Bar Serapion*, London, 1855, pp. 1 f).
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(2) Archaeological Materials

A. Inscriptions

(i) Records of the Times of the Seleucids, the Arsacids and the Romans

The British Museum Tablet of the year 171	Kugler, F., *Sterkunde und Sterdienst in Babel* (Munster in Westfalen, 1907-35), II, 442; *Classical Philology*, 1937, vol. XXXII, pp. 12f.
The copy of an Old Hymn, dated in the Reign of Antiochus (vii) and in the year 182	Reisner, G.A., *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1896, text no. 25.
Greek Documents of the Arsacid Period from Avroman	*Journal of the Hellenic Studies*, 1915, vol. XXXV, pp. 22-65.
Res Gestae Divi Augusti	Loeb Classical Library edition, 1924; for the text of the inscription, see pp. 394f.

(ii) Indo-Greek Inscriptions

Bajaur Casket Inscriptions of the reign of Menander and of the year 5.	EI, vol. XXIV, p. 7.

(iii) Scytho-Parthian Epigraphs

Shahdaur Inscription of Damijada of the year 60	*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 16.
Taxila inscription referring to Moga (Maues) and to the year 78	*Ibid.*, p. 28.
Sirkap Inscription of Jihoṇika (= Zeionises) of the year 191	*Ibid.*, p. 82.
Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions of the time of Rājuvula.	*EI*, vol. IX, pp. 135f ; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 48-49.
Mathura Votive Inscription of Śoḍāsa of the year 72	*EI*, vol. II, p. 199 ; vol. IX, pp. 243-244.
Jalalabad epigraph of Tiṛavharṇa of the year 83	*Acta Orientalia*, 1938, vol. XVI, pp. 235-240.
Takht-i-Bahi Inscription of Guduvhara (=Gondophares I) of the year 103	*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 62-63 ; IHQ 1962, vol. XXXVII, pp, 239-241.

For other Kharoshṭhī records referring to Scytho-Parthian rulers, see Konow, S., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I-*Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions With the Exception of Those of Aśɔka*, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 13-48.

(iv) Kushāṇa Records

(a) Early Kushāṇa

Panjtar Inscription of the year 122	*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 67-70.
Taxila Inscription of the year 136	*Ibid.*, pp. 70-77.

(b) V'ima Kadphises

Khalatse Inscription of Uvima Kavphisa (=V'ima Kadphises) of the year 187	*Ibid.*, pp. 79-81; *BSOAS*, vol. XIII, p. 397.
Mat Inscription referring to Vima (=V'ima)	Ludres, H., *Mathura Inscriptions*, (edited by Janert, K.L., Gottingen, 1961, pp. 134-138; Mukherjee, B. N., *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), Calcutta, 1967, pp. 56-60.

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l 'Indication d'un Re`gne", sec. IV of pt. VI of "Inscriptions de Surkh-Kotal (Baghlan): "La Grande Inscription de Kaniṣka et 1 'Étéo-Tokharien 1 'Ancienne Langue de la Bactriane", *JA*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp. 386-393 ; Puri, B. N., *India Under the Kushāṇas*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 229-252 ; and Rosenfield J. M., *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 265-270.

(v) Sasanian Record in Greek, Parthian and Pahlavi

Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription of Shāpūr I	Honigmann, E. and Maricq, A., *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, Brussels, 1953 ; *BSOAS*, vol. IX, pp. 823-849 ; *Syria*, 1958, pp. 295-360.

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75	25-26	did not probably begin to rule long after c. 119 B. C.	probably did not begin to rule long after c. 119 B, C.
77	1	rnle	rule
93	1-2and5-6	Yu-yi-shan-li	Wu-yi shan-li
94	1	Archosia	Arachosia
96	6	(pl. III, no. 14)	(pl. III, no. 15).
96	11	Rajuvula	Rājuvula
105	24	mode	modes
107	6	samet reatise	same treatise
107	30	Firstly,	First,
109	1	sccs.	secs.
110	6	*Alexandron*	*Alexandrou*
111	16	P. 245	PP. 243-244
114	7	P. 413	431 ; H.S. Williams (editor), *The Historians' History of the World*, vol. VIII, p. 58 etc.
121	15	Mithridats II	Mithridates II
121	16-17	A Simonetta	A. Simonetta
123	12	*Classioal*	*Classical*

Page No.	*Line No.*	*In place of*	*Read*
127	23	pp,	pp.
131	4	P. 82	article no, 82 : *JPASB*, 1910, p. 563.
132	16	Yüeh-Chih	Yüeh-chih
133	16	not	are not
142	26	D.W,	D.W.
143	30	bearing the	bearing probably the
143	32	Pahlavi	Pahlavik
143	33	Vindaph(ar)	Vindaphar
145	34	*Vindaph(ar)*	*Vindaphàr*
145	29	*inedites*	*inédites*
146	30	*op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, no. 6	*op. cit.*, pl. XXV, no, 26 & pl.XXVI, no. 6
149	10	found only in	found mainly in
149	36	*The Scythian* Period	*The Scythian Period*
159	14	ihe	the
168	21	monntted	mounted
168	30	may	might
169	5	Azlises	Azilises
172	7	Azes II	Azes I
175	2	indpendent	independent
176	34	which in	which deity in
176	34	became a	became the subject of a

Page No.	*Line No.*	*In place of*	*Read*
177	26	"Pallas to left"	'Pallas to right'
181	27	Gabaṭāka	Ghaṭāka
182	16	sherd	shred
187	22	carreer	career
188	5	ccṇquest	conqnest
192	27	Hsien-tu	Hsüan-tu
192	30	Hsien-tu	Hsüan-tu
193	38	226	226 ; *Parthia*, p. 168
195	24	etc.	etc. We have elsewhere discussed the relevance of the epigraphic evidence from the cave monastery at Kara-Tepe in Soviet Central Asia to the study of the problem of determining the eras indicated by the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of North-Western India. See also

Page No.	*Line No.*	*In place of*	*Read*
			V. Stavisky *et al.*, *Boodyskie Peshchery Kara Tepe V Starom Termeze* (*1963-64*), p. 123.
197	8	Abdagaeses	Abdagases
201	29	Apolodotus II	Apollodotus II
202	28	sherd	shred
208	29	S. Chattopadhyay	S.Chattopadhyaya
209	29	J. Harmata	J. Harmatta
212	4	Chaiax	Charax
216	10	immediare	immediate
227	page-heading	AFD	AND
228	3	were	was
229	13	Mukhherjee	Mukherjee
229	14	"bust : standing archer"	"bust : standing soldier"
229	16	"bust : Pallas Athene"	"bust : Athene Promachos"
229	17	Antiochus I	Antiochus I (E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints*, pl. XIII, nos. 13-14).
230	5	has	have

Page No.	*Line No.*	*In place of*	*Read*
236	13	Aradashīr I	Ardashīr I
236	30	dfficulty	difficulty
245	8	show	shows
245	17	inscrirtion	inscription
245	25	inportant	important
245	6	ft.	it
249	9	*Kushsāṇas*	*Kushāṇas*
252	6	certain lyimply	certainly imply
253	34	Gondopheres I	Gondophares I
259	1	datc	date
260	30	includedn	included in
263.	18	*Nnmismatique*	*Numismatique*
263	25	PP. 337-338, etc.	PP. 337-338 ; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1939, vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 7-37 ; etc.
268	22	T'ung-wen shü-chu edition	T'ung-wen shu-chü edition
272	15	1937	1938
273	16	*Punjab*	*Panjab*
279	5	*San-kuo-chih*	*San-Kuo Chih*
280	13	otheus	others
281	7	1906, vol. VI	1905. vol. VI
281	30	Cocceinus	Cocceianus
284	10	*rusul*	*rusūl*
285	5	*ḍar*	*der*

Page No.	*Line No.*	*In place of*	*Read*
285	19	1959).	1959 and 1949. Though both the parts have been published by S. M. Nawab, part 2,containing different recensions of the Kālaka story, was edited by A. P. Shah).
288	20	shee	see
291	10	ormainly	or mainly
291	24	Guiment	Guimet
291	25	1669	1969
292	14	Śakas	Sakas
295	30	Beghrm	Beghram

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE I

Map showing the borderlands of the Indian subcontinent.

PLATE II

Nos. 1 and 2 :—Coins of Mithridates I (bust to right : Herakles standing to front) (now in the British Museum, London).

Nos. 3 to 6 :—Coins respectively of Euthydemus II, Zoilus, Demetrius I and Lysius (bust to right : Herakles standing to front) (all are now in the British Museum).

No. 7 :—A coin of Vonones and Sapalagadames (obverse or reverse showing Pallas standing to left) (now in the Panjab Museum, Lahore).

No. 8 :—A coin of Vonones and Spalagadames (reverse or obverse of coin no. 7 showing Herakles standing to front) (now in the Panjab Museum).

No. 9 :—A coin of Zoilus (bust to right : standing Herakles being crowned by Nike) (Now in the Panjab Museum).

No. 10 :—A coin of Zoilus (head of Herakles : Herakles' club and bow in a case) (now in the British Museum).

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Nos. 11 to 15 :—Coins respectively of Mithridates I, Mithridates II, Sinatruces, Phraates III and Orodes I (bust to left or right : bow in a case) (now in the British Museum).

PLATE III

No. 1 :—Coins of Orodes II or their imitations (bust to left, counter-struck by a helmeted bust : a male sitting and holding a bow) (found at Begram).

No. 2 :—A coin of Phraates IV (bust to left on the obverse which is also counter-struck by a helmeted bust : a male sitting and holding a bow) (found at Begram).

Nos. 3 to 6 :—Coins respectively of Sinatruces, Phraates III, Phraates III (struck by him or by some other person responsible for the imitation) and Phraates IV (bust to left on the obverse which is re-struck by a helmeted bust and the inscription OTANNES) (now in the British Museum).

No, 7 :—A coin of Arsakes Theos (horse prancing to right : bow in a case) (now in the British Museum ?),

No. 8 :—The cursive form of the Greek letter *epsilon.*

No. 9 :—The cursive form of the Greek letter *omega.*

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No. 10 :—The lunate form of the Greek letter *sigma*.

No. 11 :—The Greek coin-legend *Basilios Adelphos Phil....*

No. 12 :—An earlier form of the Kharoshṭhī letter *sa*.

No. 13 :—A later form of the Kharoshṭhī letter *sa*.

No. 14 :—Two coins of Azes II (king on horse holding a whip : Pallas) (now in the British Museum).

No. 15 :—A coin of Arsakes Dikaios (king on horse holding a whip : Zeus standing to left) (now in the British Museum ?).

No. 16 :—A coin of Gondophares I (bust to right : Nike) displaying lunate *sigma* and round *omicron* (now in the British Museum).

No. 17 :—A coin of Gondophares I (bust to right : Nike) re-struck by an "elephant rider" type of V'ima Kadphises (now in the British Museum).

No. 18 :—A coin of (K)ozoulo (Kujula Kadphises) (bust to right : Pallas hurling thunderbolt) (now in the British Museum).

PLATES

PLATE I

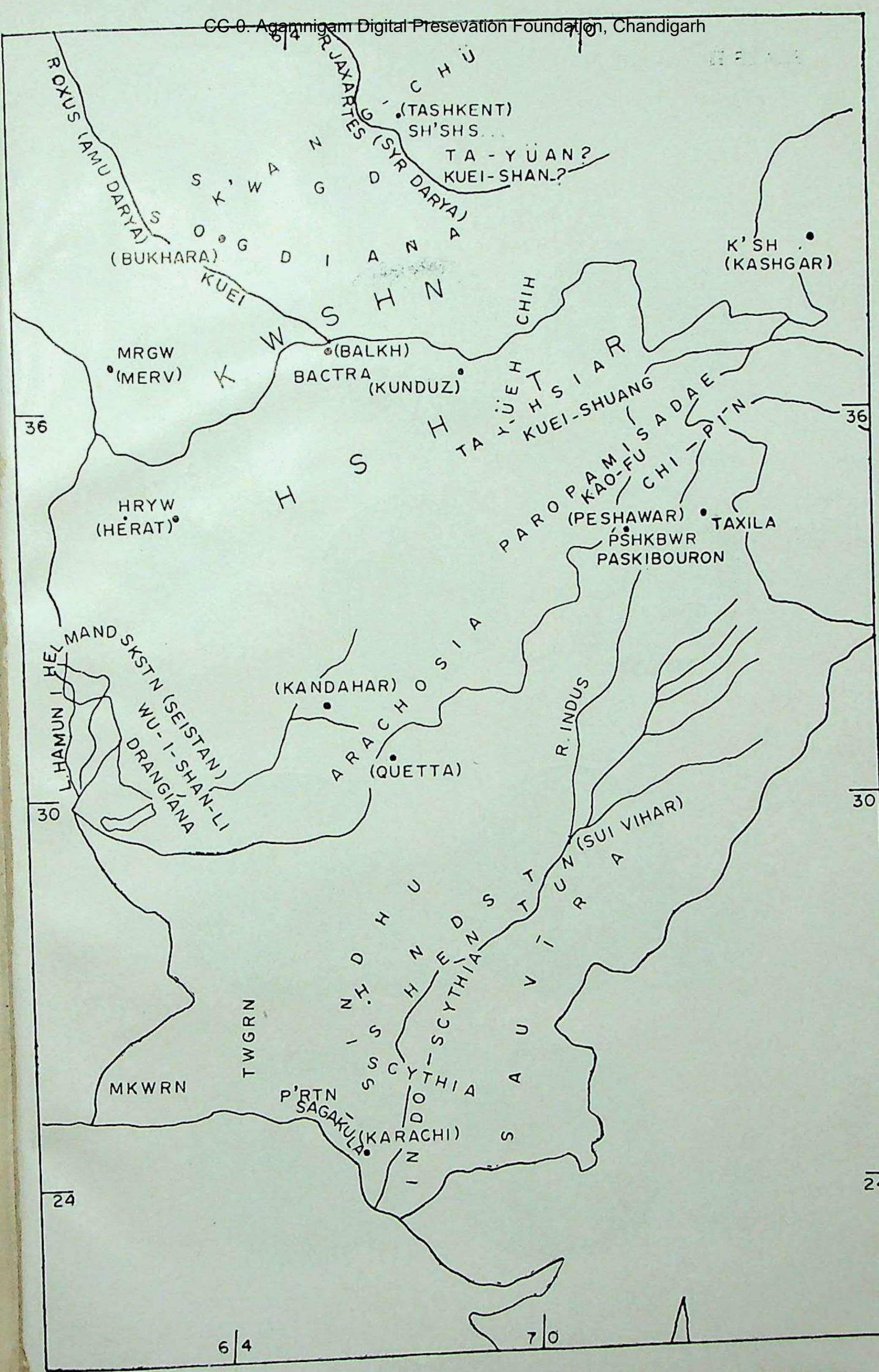
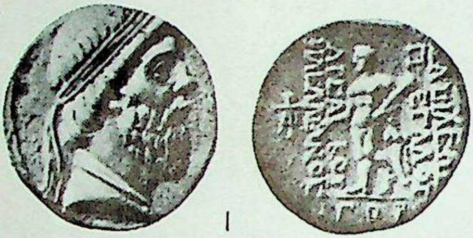

64
70
R. JAXARTES (SYR DARYA)
CHU
(TASHKENT)
SH'SHS...
TA-YÜAN?
KUEI-SHAN-?
R. OXUS (AMU DARYA)
S K'W G N D
SOGDIANA
(BUKHARA)
KUEI
K'SH
(KASHGAR)
KWSHN
CHIH
MRGW
(MERV)
(BALKH)
BACTRA
(KUNDUZ)
TA-YÜEH-CHIH
TSIAR
KUEI-SHUANG
PAROPAMISADAE
KAO-FU
CHI-PI'N
HSHSH
36
36
HRYW
(HERAT)
(PESHAWAR)
TAXILA
PSHKBWR
PASKIBOURON
HELMAND
L. HAMUN
SKSTN (SEISTAN)
WU-I-SHAN-LI
DRANGIANA
(KANDAHAR)
ARACHOSIA
(QUETTA)
R. INDUS
30
30
(SUI VIHAR)
HNDSTN
SINDHU
INDO-SCYTHIA
SCYTHIA
SAUVĪRA
TWGRN
MKWRN
P'RTN
SAGAKULA
(KARACHI)
24
24
64
70

PLATE II



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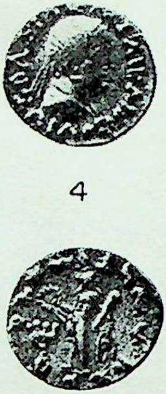

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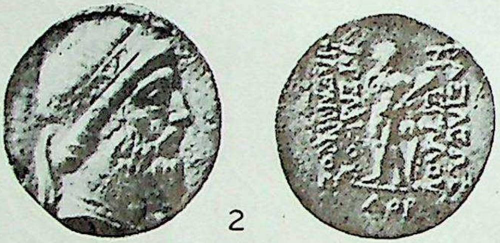

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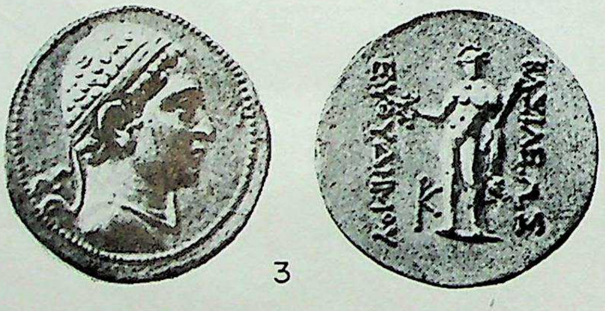
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ
K

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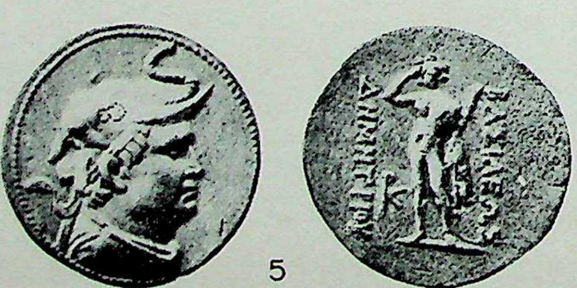
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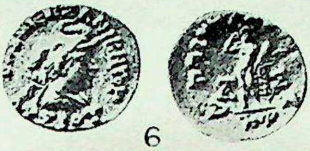
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
K

5

PLATE II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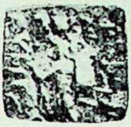
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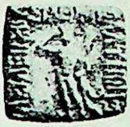
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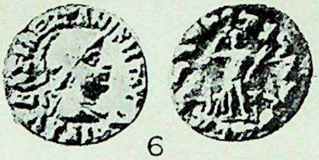
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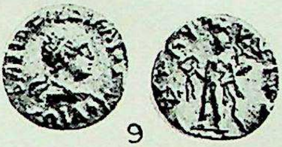
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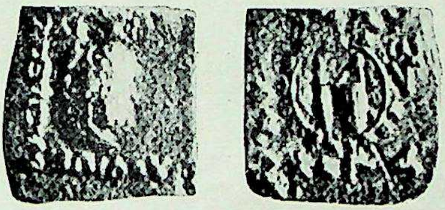
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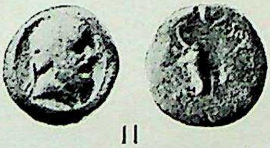
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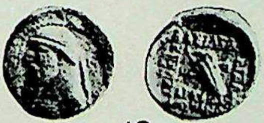
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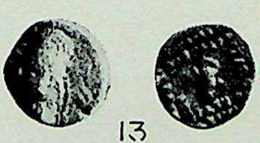
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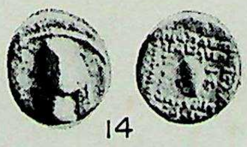
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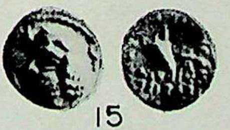
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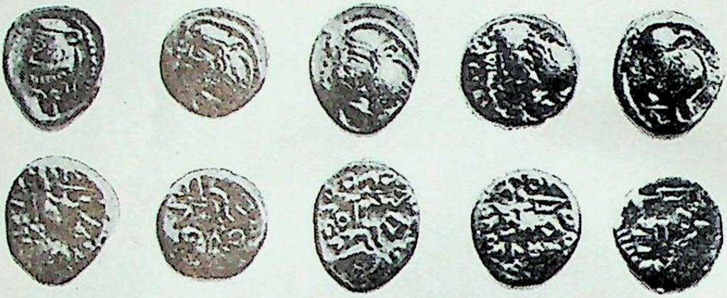
PLATE III



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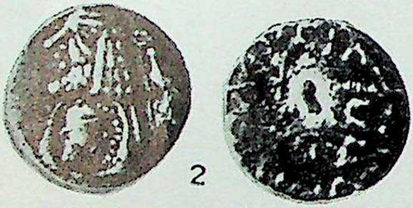

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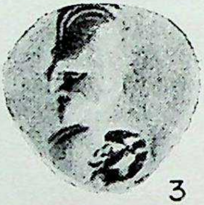

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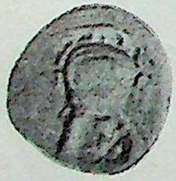

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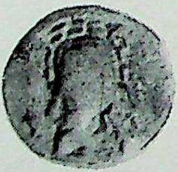

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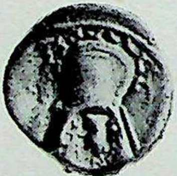

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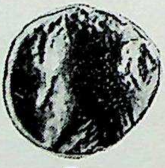

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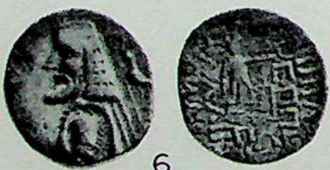

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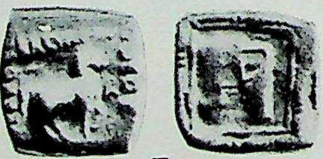

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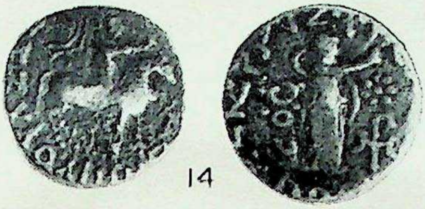
11 ΒΔΣΙΛΕΩΣ .. ΔΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΦΙΛ

PLATE III



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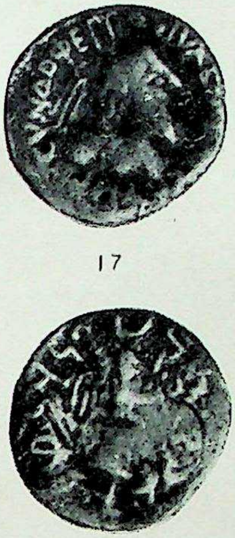

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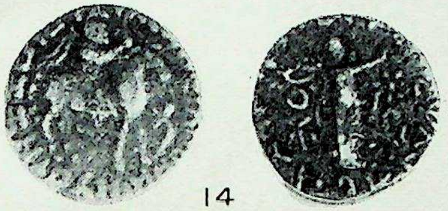

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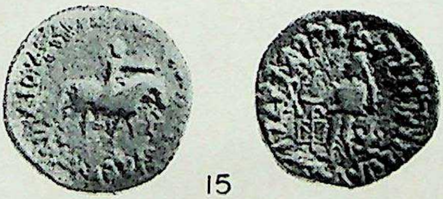

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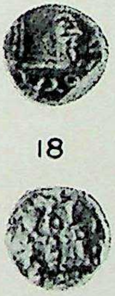

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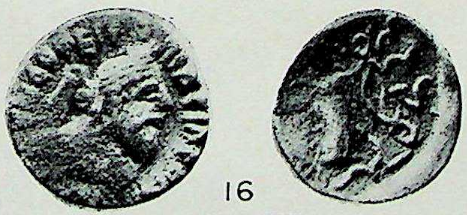

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State Museum Lucknow
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